University of Alberta

A Study of Curriculum Change in Civic Education in Hong Kong Between 1985-2005

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the historical and political contexts of curriculum change in Hong Kong and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), China, between 1985 and 2005, with a particular focus on the curriculum of civic education. Literature reviews recount Hong Kong's history, and trace the development of its education system. Curriculum as a field of study is described, and traditions in social studies curriculum are reviewed. A chart is developed, differentiating education for democracy from education for authoritarianism. Hong Kong's 1985 and 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* and *Civics and Government and Public Affairs* syllabi are analysed in detail. References are made to the 1998 *Civic Education* syllabus, *Moral and Civic Education* developments, and to other *Personal, Social, and Humanities Education* syllabi. The analysis uses critical theory and post-colonial theory to examine the official curricula with social studies frameworks. Findings indicate that Hong Kong's civic education curriculum has various influences, that civic education has elements that foster both inculcation and democracy, and that the present content of social studies learning in Hong Kong bears more emphasis on Chinese nationalism than earlier iterations.

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Introduction Chapter 1

General Overview of the Problem

Social studies or civic education curricula are more political than other school subjects such as science and mathematics. They are highly dependent on the political system in which they are embedded. Barr, Barth, & Shermis (1977) define social studies as "an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education" (p. 69). This it can be argued that social studies curriculum and its related subjects have the following functions: to socialize young people into the wider political community as citizens; to positively portray the government for state formation purposes; to build a nation's history; to understand basic physical and human geography at local and regional levels; to inform about different economic and political systems; and, to some extent, to expose young people to global history, events and issues. My intent is to choose case studies derived from analysis of curriculum documents: civic education, government and public affairs and related curricula (social studies, integrated humanities and history) in Hong Kong. My primary research question will be: What influence have political, economic, and sociological contexts exerted on curriculum design pre- and post- 1997? The secondary questions will focus on curriculum analysis: (1) From which traditions of social studies do curricula stem? (2) In light of the history of political changes of Hong Kong, what type of political system and education is encouraged, and to what extent? (3) Do the pre- and post- 1997 curricula in the social studies, broadly defined as Civics and Government and Public Affairs (G.P.A.), teach citizenship education for democracy or for inculcation? and (4) How has the recommended curricula reflected the political changes that have affected Hong Kong before and after the sovereignty handover in 1997?

Why This Matters

Hong Kong is the site of my case study of choice for two important reasons. First, the region has undergone a significant political change. Prior to 1997, Hong Kong was administered as a British colony, described as "bureaucratic oligarchy" and *de facto* independence from late 1940s to 1980s (Sweeting, 1995) or a "administrative no-party state" (Harris, 1978; cited in Morris, McClelland, & Man, 1997). In 1997, Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region of China (HKSAR). Basic Law, provided some political autonomy, and Hong Kong has since functioned as a "pseudo-democracy" (White, 2001) or "limited democracy" (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). The HKSAR was given jurisdiction over education under the Sino-British Joint Declaration (1984). Curriculum changes in civic education, government and public affairs (social studies related curricula) will be examined in this context. The second reason for my choice of Hong Kong as a case study is the high performance of Hong Kong students on international tests. From my reading of the literature, it appears that its education system is paradoxical, with various reasons for an under-valued and under-developed social studies curriculum. On one hand Hong Kong has highly effective mathematics, science and languages curricula, as indicated by the OECD Programme for International Assessment test results (PISA), which are considered high status subjects. On the other hand, it has low status subjects such as civic affairs, government and public affairs, and humanities, all with minimum priority and implementation in schools (Morris & Chan, 1997). The reasons for this lopsided development will be considered and critiqued.

My findings will contribute to the literature in the field of comparative educational research, in particular to a greater understanding of how political dynamics shape and influence educational policies as reflected in the curricula. In an age where global politics and economics have become increasingly intertwined, it is of crucial importance to understand the influences and pressures that are exerted on education. With such an understanding, educators can be better prepared to formulate answers and solutions to the challenges posed by political and cultural demands.

My Personal Interest in the Field

On a personal level, I had a friend in grade 9 who was from Hong Kong, and came to Canada to study. I visited Hong Kong in 1988, in 2002, and again in 2004, and was interested and fascinated by the fact that it was one of the last remaining colonies. When I went after the sovereignty handover, I was curious about how things had changed, including the school system. In 2001 I visited some schools in Hong Kong.

In addition, my disciplinary background drew me to this study. I have B.A.s in history, political science, a B.Ed. after degrees in social studies (secondary), and my goal is to combine the wealth of knowledge in these disciplines, as well as my Master's courses.

Theoretical Framework

Political, sociological, economic, historical, and cultural factors are responsible for the shaping of the curriculum in Hong Kong (Morris, Mc Lelland, & Man, 1997). Therefore, it is important to analyze the school system within these wider contexts. Curriculum studies as a discipline, along with post-colonial and critical theory, will be utilized in analysis. Historical and political description and analysis will also be used in order to provide context for the curriculum analysis. In Hong Kong, macro-politics, namely the political relationship between HKSAR and the People's Republic of China, have strongly influenced the curriculum, as have micro-level, socio-economic developments such as competition between bureaucratic groups, and societal choice for English-medium instruction (Morris et al., 1997). Beyond a macro-analysis of the school system, the curriculum design, with a focus on junior and upper secondary schools, will be analyzed.

Research Methodology

The main research methodology is qualitative (document analysis). Document analysis (public release documents, refereed journals) was employed for gathering the information, both from the Hong Kong University library, and through the University of Alberta library system. Historiography inquiry methods using primary source documents were employed for the 'Historical, Social and Political Context of Hong Kong' chapter. This was a conscious decision so as not to rely heavily on interpretations removed from the source. One book that cited primary documents was relied on heavily for document sources (Tsang, 1995). The historical framework is from a Western view point, as it was a British colony and they were the rulers. I emphasize that the Chinese wanted Hong Kong back for nationalistic reasons and mention their predominant ideology. The analysis chapter uses mainly original civics education and Government and Public Affairs syllabi documents from Hong Kong.

Delimitation of the Study

This study only analyses the 1985 and 1996 Civic Education Guidelines in full, the 1985 Government and Public Affairs Syllabus and the current one, but not the 1998 Guidelines. It was unavailable through the NEOS Library Consortium. Reference is made to the 1998 Guidelines from secondary sources. The focus is on the official or government mandated curricula, not the implementation as the purpose is to look at government intent. Observation of the practice or implementation of social studies in the setting of Hong Kong schools would add an extra dimension for further analysis into the nature and effects of curriculum reform, but literature on these topics was utilized.

Political History of Hong Kong Chapter

Hong Kong's history and politics will be described. This detail is provided for two reasons: one is that the political foundations of the 1980s and 1990s were sown in the late 1800s, and the other is that this chapter lays the context within which current curriculum forces and debates take place. The chapter traces political development in Hong Kong, including the slow and tortuous path to local consultation, representation and democracy. The process of democratization will be outlined to mirror the democratizing elements presented in civic education and other related curricula, such as mention of rights and responsibilities. In addition, the negotiations for Hong Kong's future (the Sino-British Joint Declaration) and the Basic Law (the mini-constitution) are described so as to provide context for both the structure of the education system, and the specific content of political education. Knowledge of the context will enable a more thorough grounding in actual curriculum topic analysis.

History of Hong Kong Education Chapter

The History of Hong Kong Education chapter provides a literature review of both a history of the education system, and a description of it in its present state. It first examines the general political and social climate, focussing on the 1990s, with education history within the context of society at the time summarized in five phases. Themes are discussed, with emphasis on 1990s curriculum and reforms. As policies such as the language issue are still unfolding, the literature is not definitive. It is hoped that this chapter will provide an overview of the major trends and controversies that have affected education policy in Hong Kong since the inception of the colony, and allow for a broad understanding of the issues, in a historical context, that have played a major role in shaping curricular debate in the colonial and post-colonial periods. The conclusion will summarize my ideas about the state of education in Hong Kong.

Curriculum of the Field Overview Chapter

The curriculum field is relatively young as a professional field. It has only been recognized since 1828, when the *Yale Report* was published (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). Others peg the beginnings of the specialization at 1918 with the publication of Bobbitt's *The Curriculum* and Kingsley's *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (Kliebard, 1970/2000a). Zais (1976) went beyond program of studies or course content definitions, and saw the necessity of including learning experiences in the curriculum conversation. Curriculum has gradually come to be seen as a field that addresses specific educational problems. Zais noted that some who take a wider view of curriculum include the "invisible curriculum" or the "hidden curriculum," which are "unplanned" or "unintended." Eisner (1985) categorized the explicit (government or other policy makers' programs of studies or courses with goals and objectives), the implicit (impartation of cultural values such as compliance or competition) curricula, and the null curriculum "what schools do *not teach*" (p. 97). The hidden or null (nonexistent) curriculum will be analysed as far as missing content for the Hong Kong curricula. Curriculum history is examined using Pinar et al.'s (1995) categories of traditionalist, conceptual-empiricist, and reconceptualist eras. In addition, different conceptions of curriculum will be examined, as there are various perspectives, foci and types of curricula. This chapter will describe the major debates and philosophies in order to develop appropriate conceptual tools for analysis.

The Philosophical Underpinning of Social Studies Chapter

The social studies chapter will describe the different social studies traditions. Social studies will be defined. Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) looked at the instructional goals to derive at a definition, as opposed to examining conflicting content, with analysis being a matter of focusing on the characteristics of 'purpose, methods and content' (p. 58) within social studies. Asking the kinds of questions that teachers or curriculum designers would ask – What is my purpose or goal? What methods or methodologies should I use? How or what in terms of content? – Barr et al. (p. 58) outline three opposing, competing, and conflicting historical traditions based on different philosophical systems of social studies: (1) *social studies as citizenship transmission*, (2) *social studies as social science* (including history), and (3) *social studies as reflective inquiry*. These traditions provide tools (or the basis for a framework) with which to synthesize the areas of divergence. I modified the social studies *social studies as reflective inquiry philosophy* and added new ones to define in order to find a wider arena for the different social studies traditions as found in the literature and in actual social studies curricula. They are: The *progressive tradition* (with *reflective inquiry,* the *activity approach*, the *social reconstructionist approach*, and the *individual constructivist*), *life adjustment, multiculturalism, regional education and Global education.* To distinguish between critical or uncritical learning, or to distinguish between a program of studies with characteristics either for democracy or for inculcation I constructed an analytical framework.

Description of Personal, Social and Humanities Education Curricula Chapter

This chapter describes civics education in Hong Kong, specifically the 1985, 1996, and 1998 Civic Guidelines and examines the 2002 reform of Moral and Civic Education and looks at the 1985 and current G.P.A. syllabi as case studies. References will be made to other Personal, Social and Humanities Education syllabi. These syllabi changes will be examined in light of macro-level factors, especially politics. Findings show trends toward increased patriotism and nationalism in the Hong Kong curriculum. This chapter critiques the political education of HKSAR.

Curriculum and Context Analysis Chapter

The primary goal of the analysis chapter to compare the curricula after the Sino-British Declaration, and before and after the sovereignty handover. The analysis also highlights differences or similarities in content, aims, goals, and objectives and their relationships to political developments. For example, both the British handover of the colony of Hong Kong and Tiananmen Square events impacted educational policy (Sweeting, 1997). Shifting trends have included politicization and Sino-centrification of the curriculum. Moreover, developments indicated that education policy has become more similar to China's, simultaneously moving away from British influences. Between 1984 and 1997, new subjects were introduced: Putonghua, government and public affairs, and liberal studies (about the political changes), and the social studies syllabus was altered (Bray, 2000). Brief critical theory and post-colonial analysis are provided to help understand the context of Hong Kong's curriculum and its reform.

After the curricula analysis, I briefly compare the Hong Kong findings to the current Alberta Social Studies 30 program of studies. Inclusion of the Alberta curriculum serves as a contrast, as the two regions have diverse political and social climates.

Conclusion

The concluding chapter will present key findings, answering as to which strands of social studies philosophies are found in the curricula being examined, and whether the curricula is meant for inculcation of political and cultural values or for democracy. Policy recommendations for strengthening social education will be made. Precisely because of the political changes that Hong Kong has undergone, and the fragmented and incomplete implementation of new curriculum given control at level of individual school sites (Morris & Chan, 1997), it is important to educate young people about societal and political changes to enable them to become informed citizens. Fok (1997) wrote that, with HKSAR under new Chinese sovereignty, there is "a new sense of identity" for the people of Hong Kong as citizens, and that it is "important to develop in them a new 'political identity'" (para. 34). He added that, "Civic education has a role in building the dual identity of the Hong Kong people; that is, as citizens both under China's sovereignty and the 'new' political entity of a modern society" (para. 34). For these various reasons, it is important for future citizens in schools to be full, active participants with strong critical thinking skills. Tung (1997), noticed the political and social changes, called for modified curricula to meet the needs of society and students. My aim as a social studies educator is to study the Hong Kong civic education, social studies and related curricula, compare it to the Alberta program of studies, and in doing so, add insights into how the low status of social studies in Hong Kong can be convincingly improved to aid in the reconfiguration of Hong Kong society.

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The Historical, Social and Political Content of Hong Kong
Chapter 2

This chapter will provide a contextual political history, a socio-political synopsis, and an overview of the development and composition of the education system. Morris, McLelland, and Man (1997) alleged that political, sociological, economic, and historical factors are responsible for the shaping of the curriculum. Therefore, it is important to analyze the school system and the program of studies within these wider contexts. Although the use of primary sources were included in this chapter, these were primarily from British sources as they were the rulers of the territory from 1843 until 1997, so it is acknowledged that most of the literature is from the Western perspective. The local Hong Kong view is incorporated from mid-century, while the official Chinese ideology and perspective is analysed as far as the government's world view and relations with Hong Kong is concerned. The next chapter will provide an overview of the development and composition of the education system within social contexts. Subsequent chapters will analyze the social science and humanities curricula, with focus on the civics curricula, within the shadow of the political situation, where young people have to learn about the fate that history has cast upon them and come to understand the unfolding of the new system, being caught between two discourses.

Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), China, has become an "Asian Tiger" or an economic miracle in spectacular fashion and is considered to be a newly industrialized economy. Originally, Hong Kong was sparsely populated and rural (Baker, 1995); it was converted by the British to an entrepôt after the signing of treaties which made Hong Kong a Crown Colony. However, in 1997, China resumed sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Lord Palmerston portrayed Hong Kong as "a barren island with hardly a house upon it" (Shipp, 1995, p. 9). The region became industrialized in the 1960s and 1970s and was transformed into a world financial centre with strong economic ties with the Mainland and South-East Asian economies (HKSAR Government, 2002). Based on its external assets it is considered the eleventh largest banking centre, the seventh largest in foreign exchange trading, and according to the stock market is in the top ten measured as market capitalization (HKSAR Government). The United Nations Development Programme (2001a) ranked HKSAR as twenty-fourth in its 2001 Human Development Index, behind its former colonizer, the United Kingdom which ranked fourteenth (United Nations Development Programme, 2001b). Both regions had similar GDP per capita, with the former being at $22,090 (PPP US$) and the latter being $22,093 (PPP US$). In terms of purchasing power parity, its per capita income in 2003 was higher than the United Kingdom and 5.8 times that of Communist China (World Bank, 2005).

The goal of universal primary education, six years in a primary school, was met in 1972 and subsequently secondary education expanded according to scheme (Hong Kong Government Secretariat, 1981). Government policy in 1978 was to offer three years of junior secondary education free in public schools (Hong Kong Government Secretariat). The United Nations Development Programme (2001a) contends that net secondary enrolment ratio was 69% between 1995 and 1997. The literacy rate also improved to 93% of the population in 1999. The region is known as a modern cosmopolitan city, while being predominantly culturally and ethnically Chinese, with traditional ties to the overseas Chinese community.

Both pre- and post-1997 government systems were executive-led. The colonial period government system was authoritarian, but during the post-war era the government became consultative, with a separated common law judiciary. As a result a paradoxical system arose granting certain freedoms, such as freedom of the press.

Hong Kong has undergone a political change from colonial government, described as "bureaucratic oligarchy" and *de facto* independence from late 1940s to 1980s (Sweeting, 1995) or an "administrative no-party state" (Harris, 1978; as cited in Morris, McClelland, & Man, 1997), to a functioning "limited democracy" (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004) or "pseudo-democracy" (White, 2001) since 1991 and until the formation of the Special Administrative Region of China (HKSAR) in 1997 with the Basic Law, giving it some political autonomy. However, despite HKSAR's economic development and numerous achievements, Hong Kong's people have not been, either during colonial rule or after, masters or mistresses of their own fate: democratization through direct voting was only partially implemented during the 1990s and the Legislative Council is timed under the Basic Law (the HKSAR constitution) to increase the number of seats. Ultimate power rests in the executive, and the region has a semi-sovereign status.

The Sealing of the Future of Hong Kong: Between Two Powers

Britain had gained the territories, in perpetuity or by leases, through naval warfare and the infamous Opium Wars. At countdown negotiations over the 99-year lease of the New Territories, according to Chinese spokesmen, there was only space for a "two-legged, not three-legged stool" (Patten, 1998; Yahuda, 1996). Hong Kong inhabitants could only be represented as part of the British negotiating team, against the wishes of Britain (Patten, 1998). The traditional sovereign powers of Britain and China, the latter of which had gained comparative strength over the last century, sealed the fate of the region, based on their divergent ideologies, political culture, and interpretations. For the People's Republic of China (PRC), the territory was re-gained by its rightful owner, for sovereignty over HKSAR meant the reversal of "the century of humiliation" and a source of nationalist pride. To the last Hong Kong Governor, Chris Patten, the lowering of the Union Jack had, in the past in other countries, meant preparing the country for independence through handing down parliamentary democracy (1998).

Hong Kong's History From the Early Colonial Period to the Pacific War: Setting the Stage for Hong Kong

Prior to the arrival of the British on the scene, Hong Kong seemed to be of marginal importance to the Chinese Imperial authorities. In fact, Hong Kong Island barely appeared on official maps of Xin-an County in which Hong Kong was located (Baker, 1985). Far to the south of Beijing and located on the margins of the coast, the inhabitants earned a living from farming and fishing. The area also had achieved a reputation for lawlessness in previous centuries and was often a focus of piratical raids (Baker, 1985).

Hong Kong was secured as a Crown Colony through gunboat diplomacy by Britain after trading restrictions imposed by the Chinese Emperor. Due to a trade imbalance, with Chinese goods being greatly sought after in Europe, the East India Company started trading in opium in 1729 (Courtauld, Holdsworth, & Vickers, 1997). When the Emperor banned the substance and planned to seize opium from foreign traders, the Opium War was initiated. After the First Anglo-Chinese War (1840-43), Britain occupied Hong Kong, formally gaining sovereignty of the island in perpetuity under the Treaty of

Nanking, which was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Emperor Tao Kuang and Queen Victoria (Tsang, 1995). The Treaty of Nanking stated the original purpose of the colony as a port for trade.

> It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., the Island of Hong-Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by her Britannick Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, and to be government by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., shall see fit to direct. (Document I.a1: Treaty of Nanking 1843, source: CO129/1, as cited in Tsang pp. 15-16)

Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen (1843) declared Britain's "intentions" for the free port with minimal harbour dues to promote commerce (cited in Tsang p. 17). The free port and free trade are still protected under the constitution (Basic Law, Articles 114 and 114, as cited in Buckley, 1997).

The Creation of Colonial Administration

Early arrangements set the groundwork for the colonial administrative structure. As Tsang (1995) aptly commented, the Crown Colony's political system was intended to be authoritarian. Its constitutional status as a crown colony, under the administration of an executive unanswerable to local representation and with a legislative assembly with little direct electoral participation, remained static from the time of its acquisition to the final transfer in 1997 (Darwin, 1997). However, authoritarianism was somewhat tempered by consultative bodies such as the Office for Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Council (UMELCO) and the Urban Council (Darwin). This constitutional arrangement was devised in view of Britain's official China policy (Darwin). As Secretary Lord Stanley wrote to Governor Pottinger in 1843, Hong Kong was unique in the Empire. Apart from its relative insignificance, "It is occupied not with a view to colonization, but for diplomatic, commercial and military purposes … governed by an officer" who is in charge of trade, economic regulation and negotiates with the Chinese Emperor (as cited in Tsang p. 17, Source CO129/1843).

After 1920 Hong Kong's position within this imperial policy, *vis-à-vis* China, became even more obvious (Darwin, 1997) as commercial interests increased. Hong Kong had originally been secured as an entrepôt for Britain (Endacott, 1964; Baker,

1995) and flourished for various reasons: "the opening of China to western trade and influence" as well as that of Japan, Siam, and Korea, and the opening of Pacific Ocean trade routes (Endacott, p. ix). Furthermore, Britain had industrialized and sought markets for its goods. Another reason for the growth of the entrepôt colony were:

> British liberal economic policies, particularly free trade, and a strong laissez faire spirit in administration, which aimed at keeping the ring clear for free enterprise under the law administered impartially to all without fear or favour, attracted to Hong Kong merchants of every nationality. (Endacott, 1964, p. ix)

A century and a half after the initial founding, commerce is still an integral part of the economy, with Hong Kong being a prominent world trading and service hub (HKSAR Government, 2002). Connected to this, Hong Kong has also played an important role in opening the door between China and the world (Yahuda, 1996).

This capitalist system, arising from British imperial policy, developed in tandem with the colony's constitutional structure. In 1843, the constitutional Letters Patent, subsequently amended but in force until the mid-1990s, created the position of Governor, to be aided and counselled by a Legislative Council and an Executive Council and a judiciary (Tsang, 1995). The governor was charged with the right to propose laws or ordinances. Legislative Council members could also introduce questions or laws (bills), but with the requirement of a written statement to the governor to be handed in the minutes (Section 7, Royal Instructions 1843). Furthermore, questioning and voting were to take place in the Legislative Council. The Law of England stood except if unsuitable to the local population, which was to be initially determined by courts but judicial questions could be over-ruled by the local legislature (Document I.a.7: Secretary Lord Stanley to Governor Pottinger, dispatch 8, 3 June 1943, source C0129/2, as cited in Tsang).

The colony was extended by the Treaties of Tientsin (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860 and 1898) when the peninsula of Kowloon and the New Territories were secured (Tsang, 1995). Stonecutters Island was also included. The Treaty of Tientsin involved the lease of Kowloon, transferred to a permanent cession under the Peking Convention, 1860, which stated that:

> With a view to the maintenance of law and order in and about the harbour of Hongkong, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to cede to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and to Her heirs and successors to have and to hold as a dependency of Her Britainnic Majesty's Colony of Hongkong that portion of the township of Cowloon in the province of

> Kwangtung, of which a lease was granted in perpetuity. (Document I.b2: Convention of Peking, 24 October 1860, source: CO129/78, as cited in Tsang, 1995, p. 32)

In addition, a lease was undertaken in 1898 for the New Territories for 99 years under the second Convention of Peking (Tsang, 1995), a fact that was to loom large for the future of Hong Kong as the lease neared expiry in the late 20th century.

Initial Challenges and the Gradual Evolution of the Administrative System

Politically, democratic reforms were almost non-existent before the Pacific War as stability was prized while racial and cultural issues were considered. There was lobbying on the part of the expatriate community for representation, resulting in the addition of two unofficial members (defined as appointed non-government delegates) to the Legislative Council (LegCo) in 1850. In 1894, attempts were made in the House of Commons to allow the colony's English inhabitants to control their local affairs and the budget. These attempts were turned down (Tsang, 1995). Governor Bowring's request for more representation was discounted by Secretary Labouchere (1856) as British people were perceived to be short-term residents for work purposes, and as the Crown Colony was held for the interaction between the Chinese and British Empires. "Great commercial interests and the future progress of civilization throughout the East are to a great extent involved in the maintenance of British rule and the orderly government of Hong Kong" (Secretary Labouchere to Governor Bowring, dispatch 82, 29 July 1856, source: CO129/55, as cited in Tsang, p.66). Whereas the Colonial Secretary saw the probability of future discontent with a British franchise, he doubted whether the Chinese had the mentality to appreciate the social order and the common good. The "Chinese race" was considered to be intelligent, but "very deficient in the most essential elements of morality" (p. 65).

In response to the expatriate petition for more representation, the first call for direct elections to the legislature (Tsang, 1995), Secretary of State Lord Ripon rejected the request for an oligarchy based on racial lines. He reasoned:

> The well-being of the large majority of the inhabitants is more likely to be safeguarded by the Crown Colony system – under which, as far as possible no distinction is made of rank or race, than by representation which would leave the bulk of the population wholly unrepresented. (Secretary Lord Ripon to Governor

> Robinson, dispatch 135, 23 August 1894, source: CO129/263, as cited in Tsang, 1995, p. 78)

A century later, such paternalistic attitudes against representation prevailed, but were not overt. The fact that direct Legislative Council elections and an increased franchise had to wait until the last governor demonstrated that, whether admitted or not, the British indisputably prized stability over democracy and did not want to risk losing the reigns of power. Excuses will be dealt with later.

Early Evolution of the Legislative Council

Nevertheless, the number of unofficial members and Chinese representation rose incrementally until 1997. After substantial Chinese immigration, the first Chinese unofficial Legislative Council member was appointed in 1880 (Tsang, 1995). Such unofficial appointments became the standard procedure (Tsang). In 1896, a Senior Military Officer was added to the legislature and a Chinese British subject added as an unofficial member (totalling six) (Tsang). An extra Chinese unofficial member was added. Further attempts by the expatriate mercantile community for more representation, on the pretexts of democracy, were turned down before the outbreak of World War II (Tsang).

Governor Stubbs wrote in a confidential dispatch to Secretary Viscount Milner (29 July 1920, source: CO129/462, as cited in Tsang, p. 80) that, due to recognition of the transient nature and short sighted views of that community, their proposals were rejected. However, the number of unofficial members on two central standing committees was increased while official representation decreased. Adding that "the Chinese", being somewhat permanent residents, "of whom the vast majority have never taken the slightest interest in the administration of the Government," Governor Stubbs concluded that the Council was capable of making proposals in the public interest (p. 80).

Before and after the Pacific War, British officialdom explained that the lack of democratisation was due to the apolitical nature of the local inhabitants. Tsang (1995) wrote that the real reason for not allowing the British expatriates in Hong Kong to have democracy was to avoid giving the Chinese majority that right. Because the British government was prone to racial prejudice, they were not willing to hand over power to either the Chinese majority or the expatriates. The pretext used was that the system was impartial and held the interest of the majority. Instead 'functional representation' was increased.

The nomination of unofficial Legislative Council members from the unofficial Justices of Peace and the Kong General Chamber of Commerce became standard practice from 1884 until 1973, when Governor Murray MacLehose ended this constitutional practice (Tsang, 1995). However, in the late 1980s, as an interim measure for directly elected seats, two functional constituency seats were added. These seats were composed of accountant and nurse representation, while appointed seats were reduced (Scott, 1989).

Early Evolution of the Executive Council

The Executive Council also evolved very slowly. Queen Victoria instructed that the "Governor shall consult his Executive Council on all matters of importance although, in Crown Colonies, he is not under the obligation of following their advice" (Document III.a3: Governor Bowen to Secretary Lord Derby, dispatch 60, 15 May 1883, source: CO129/208, as cited in Tsang, 1995, p. 108). The body was set up according to the recommendations in the Letters Patent under Queen Victoria and for two years its membership mirrored the Legislative Council (Tsang). Later, the executive was to be composed of the governor, the lieutenant governor, the military commander, and the colonial secretary (Document III.a1: Governor Bowring to Secretary E.B. Lytton, dispatch 137, 6 October 1858, source: CO129/69, as cited in Tsang).

In 1867, the auditor general was added as a result of monetary matters gaining increased significance in the affairs of the colony (Tsang, 1995). In 1883, the executive body was once again enlarged with the inclusion of the attorney general, the surveyor-general / director of public works, and the registrar-general, the ex-officio protector of the Chinese (Governor Bowen in Tsang; Tsang).

The Slow Beginnings of Chinese Participation in Government

Secretary Lord Ripon had written to Governor Robinson in 1894 that "it would be invidious and inequitable to lay down that Chinese subjects of the Queen shall be debarred from appointment to the Executive Council. Therefore, the possibility of the appointment being hereafter filled by a Chinese gentleman must be reckoned with" (Document III.a4: dispatch 135, 23 August, source: CO129/263, as cited in Tsang, p. 109). When Governor Robinson objected on racist grounds that Chinese would prefer autocracy, Secretary Chamberlain displayed a modicum of justice by writing that the Executive Council would have two unofficial members chosen by the governor:

> It is obviously desirable that they should, as a rule, be chosen from among the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, and the choice should, and no doubt will be, inspired by consideration of personal merit, and have no reference to the particular class or race to which the persons chosen belong … my decision is to be regarded as final. (Document III.a.6, to Governor Robinson, dispatch 119, 29 May 1896, source: CO129/274, as cited in Tsang, p. 110)

In 1896, Chinese membership in the Executive Council was finally accepted in principle, but none were to be appointed for three decades (Tsang, 1995). Two Chinese unofficial Executive Council members were chosen before World War II (Tsang, 1995). Governor Clementi's telegram to Secretary Amery, 24 June 1926 revealed that it was believed that Chinese members would be more likely to both divulge information and to use their position for personal gain. Such expressions reveal those racial stereotypes that often prevailed (Document III.a8, as cited in Tsang). Most tellingly, demonstrating that race was very much a hidden issue as to why there was no representation, "Racial matters would be discussed with less freedom" and, revealingly, "The appointment … might also have the result of staving off a demand (which cannot possibly be granted) for Chinese electoral representation on Legislative Council" (source: CO 129/493, as cited in Tsang, p. 111). Only the British, it would appear, were worthy of representation rights. Interestingly, by this era, Dominion status was accorded to Canada and Australia. Why were these countries considered more trustworthy to be granted increased autonomy?

There was very little increase in the number of top Chinese government staff or administrators in the British colonial administration. The first Chinese unofficial member to the Legislative Council, Ng Choy, was appointed in 1880 (Tsang, 1995). Governor Pope-Hennessy made the case for Chinese representation from the entrepreneurial wealthy and British educated segments. From early on, but especially post war, as the Chinese far outnumbered the British, a pact was formed where the business elite (regardless of nationality) joined in the higher echelons of governance or influenced it. White (2001) aptly observed: "The British administration had for a century been engaging Chinese business conservatives as part of their practical constitution, even while maintaining the formal legalities of a local quasi-monarchy" (p. 5).

Formally, Chinese were not a major part of the civil service until post-war. Cadets, as members of the administrative service were known (Tsang, 1995), were the 'backbone' of the administration (p. 152). They had to take competitive exams in an English education. Until 1946, all these cadets were 'pure' Europeans. After World War II the first Chinese captain in the British army was appointed to the cadets and in 1952 the second Chinese was appointed. In 1993, Mrs. Anson Chan became the first local and female cadet to lead the bureaucracy. She resigned in 2001 after being told by the Chinese Vice Premier, Qian Qichen, to support the Chief Executive (BBC News, 2001).

It was not until 1974 that a Chinese majority emerged in the Executive Council; in the post-war era there was parity (Tsang, 1995). Some of this slowness in granting Chinese rule is attributed to stereotyping; for example, an 1862 document stated that the locals were unsuitable for police work because of their character that was prone to an abuse of power, namely they would use their post for "fraud, injustice, and peculation" so that 'Chinamen' must be restricted to services (Document IV.c.4, p. 164, as cited in Tsang, p. 164). It took until the 1950s for Chinese to be promoted to gazetted rank and for women to be appointed as police officers (Tsang). A Chinese Officer took command of the police force in 1989. No doubt some of this discrimination was due to the British concern for not relinquishing colonial power. Thus they waited until the last possible moment.

History and Politics Post Pacific War Until 1997

The merits of Hong Kong's colonial political and judicial system, as it relates to economic growth before and after the Pacific War, often reverberate in the literature. In 1894, Secretary Lord Ripon commented in his dispatch concerning the political petition by expatriates in favour of the status quo Crown Colony system (Cited in Tsang, 1995). He noted that this maintenance of the status quo was the main reason that Hong Kong thrived. He also mentioned the geographic location, the free port, and the British defence. He accredited the influx of the Chinese population to the British rule which, according to him, kept their life and property safe. This vein of thinking relates back to Thomas Hobbes – there is a parallel made with the state of chaos in China at the time, comparable to the state of nature, while British administration in Hong Kong had given peace, order, and security in the right role of the sovereign.

In addition, the *laissez-faire* liberal economy was considered a vital ingredient of the system, as was the entrepreneurial spirit of the inhabitants. Yahuda (1996) wrote that, besides geographical factors (location and harbour) and the entrepreneurship, diligence, and applied skills of Hong Kong inhabitants, the British administrative structure, financial, and judicial system or rule of law (Holliday, Ngok, & Yep, 2002) contributed to Hong Kong's success. These unique administrative factors made Hong Kong economically successful and are often cited as the basis for the desire expressed by all the major parties concerned in Hong Kong's future for preserving the Hong Kong system for 50 years after 1997, as set out in the Basic Law.

The Difficulties of Initial Attempts at Reform

The Pacific War, with the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from December 1941 until 1945 under Imperial administration, proved to be a short-term interruption to Hong Kong's political system. Not many changes occurred in the government structure between 1946 until 1990. Colonial government could be called a "bureaucratic oligarchy" (Sweeting, 1995) or an "administrative no-party state" (Harris, 1978; as cited in Morris, McClelland, & Man, 1997). Following the Japanese surrender, British administration was restored under Governor Mark Young, who raised hopes of increased representation through his diarchy proposal (Darwin, 1997). He announced that the British government sought the means by which increased participation and responsibility for governance could be devolved onto the local inhabitants of the colony through a locally constituted and representational Municipal Council that would assume some of the important duties and functions of the government.

Such constitutional reform, however, needed a thorough examination, "the fullest account being taken of the views and wishes of the inhabitants" (cited in Shipp, 1995, pp. 12-13). However, because of LegCo's opposition (Darwin, 1997; Shipp), including towards proposals that sought direct elections for most of the legislature, the Young Plan was dropped (Shipp), except for re-allowing Urban Council elected members (Tsang, 1995). Young's successor Alexander Grantham listened to the objections of the Executive and Legislative Councils to the Young Plan, while London's opposition grew and the Colonial Secretary Creech Jones was engrossed with Palestine. Hence, the reform initiatives were abandoned (Buckley, 1997).

Governor Grantham (from 1947-1958) tabled indirect elections to the LegCo, but it was sabotaged by the Foreign Office (Darwin, 1997). Buckley (1997) described him as operating a ‘benevolent despotism’ (p. 31). Governor Trench contemplated reviewing the ‘local authority problem’ as cities were springing up (Document III.b8: speech at the Legislative Council on 24 Feb 66, source: *Hong Kong hansard session 1966*, pp. 51-52, as cited in Tsang, 1995, p. 130), but nothing came of them as focus was on the Maoist led disturbances in 1967 (Tsang).

Another reason cited for the shelving of reforms was the cessation of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, with Mao Tse-tung’s (Mao Zedong) Communist victory over the nationalist Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek, who founded the Republic of China in Taiwan (Shipp, 1995). The Communist preponderance and the plans to increase the garrison were also the reasons for the Colonial’s Office antipathy towards Grantham’s proposals in 1949 to increase the number of unofficial members (Tsang, 1995). It was considered ‘inopportune’ for the next three decades to bring about reform, with excuses that China would not accept them. Tsang, however, relying on declassified documents, believed this belief to be unsupported until the late 1950s (p. 92). Darwin (1997) argued that in 1976 the British claimed ‘external reasons’ as the basis for their stance against democratic government and that the UK and China came to an understanding to disbar a separate Hong Kong Chinese “political identity and *voice*” (p. 23).

Further constitutional reform suggestions were sabotaged by the British and the Hong Kong governments, except for changes to the Urban Council, a government agency (Tsang, 1995). Minutes of the Cabinet meeting reveal that the reason for the delay in reforms given by the Colonial Secretary was a desire to wait for a more settled environment (Tsang). The records further reveal that “The Colonial Secretary said that, while the situation in Hong Kong had not deteriorated, it had certainly not improved and opinion within the Colony seemed likely to acquiesce in further deferment,” although two extra elected Urban Council members were added (CC80 (52) 3, 18 September 1952, source: CAB 128/25, as cited in Tsang, p. 91). This document reveals that public agitation for increased local participation, in the eyes of the British, would have made a difference.

There was a marked political apathy amongst most of Hong Kong's Chinese residents until the 1980s (Yahuda, 1996). In the 19th century the politics of Hong Kong was the concern of the expatriates and Westernized Chinese elite, and the Chinese and non-Chinese societies were separated (Tsang, 1995). Governor Young (1946) wrote of political apathy for political reforms, and thought this displayed satisfaction with the current political system, "it manifestly needs to be overcome by political education and by an insistence on the transfer of responsibility, if Hong Kong is ever to develop an active sense of citizenship" so as to air their viewpoints under British rule and to "resist absorption by China" (Document III.b7: confidential dispatch of 22 October to Secretary Creech-Jones, source: CO537/1651, as cited in Tsang, pp. 126-127).

Young's successor Grantham declared in his memoirs that his policies were appropriate as the population was mostly 'politically apathetic' (Buckley, 1997, p. 31). A political adviser also wrote of this phenomenon, noting that 99% of the population was Chinese, but explaining that most were neither far right nor far left wing, but were 'fence-sitters' whose primary concern was earning a living (Document Vi.b2: P.G.F. Dalton to C.D.W. O'Neill, Charge d'affairs, Beijing, letter of 22 June 1956, source: FO371/120910, as cited in Tsang, 1995, pp. 243-244).

Flowerdew (2001) attributed this "lack of pressure" for reform from Hong Kong's populace as the result of their concern to flee the unsettled conditions on the Mainland (the Civil War, Communist conquest, famine, and the Cultural Revolution). Many Chinese living in Hong Kong were refugees from the Mainland in the post-war period and, if their first priority was escape, their second priority was to secure a living (p. 43). From their lack of rallying and from editorials, *prima facie* evidence suggests that generally Hong Kong people accepted the rule of law with concern only for Chinese politics, for example in Yu-ying, and 'The English spirit of rule of law' (Document VI.a.1: source: *Ta-chung sheng-hou*, no. 18, 13 September 1941, cited in Tsang, 1995). Post World War II a propaganda campaign existed between the Nationalists and Communists as freedom of the press existed, as long as they followed the law. However, the British, until the 1990s, had a non-subversion policy towards the Mainland (Tsang).

Opening up meaningful participation to uncertain elements could have jeopardized the British stranglehold on the colony. Britain, during the 1950s, was more concerned with reconstruction and prosperity than political reform, with the reasoning that economic growth could result in support for the government, and increased economic intervention ensued to meet those goals (Buckley, 1997). As far as administrative structure, after 1959 the Governor became responsible to the Secretary of State for the colonies (Tsang, 1995).

Constitutional, Social, and Economic Changes Emerge

MacLehose (Governor from 1971 to 1982) brought about constitutional and other reforms (Tsang, 1995). Apart from ending the policy of nominating unofficial members from the Justices of Peace and the Kong General Chamber of Commerce, he tried to make the Councils more representative by appointing non-upper class members and directly elected officials from the Urban Council. Moreover, he appointed more unofficial members than official members than the constitution allowed (Tsang). Representative government was introduced at the regional and district levels *(Green Paper: The further development of representative government in Hong Kong*, July, 1984, as cited in Tsang).

In 1973, Urban Council reforms included direct elections for half of the unofficial members. In 1982, District Board elections were introduced and in 1983 half of the Urban Councils had elections, members from both were appointed to the LegCo (Green Paper). A Regional Council was proposed for 1986 to supplement the Urban Council with elections (Green Paper). MacLehose also fought against corruption, which was successfully managed (Tsang, 1995).

There was no reform package for the Executive Council post-war, and from 1948 there were six official and six unofficial members. This structure continued until 1966 when unofficial membership was enlarged by two, and subsequently the membership grew incrementally (Tsang, 1995). But, Tsang observed that, by the 1980s, when the population became politically conscious, policy makers were expected to market their policies and were held responsible for them, much like ministers in parliamentary democracies.

By the 1960s consensual politics became the practice to appease the masses, something that seemed to be adrift after the handover during the term of the first Chief Executive. With the emergence of the middle class, the post-war colonial government attempted to meet the demand for increased 'accountability without democracy' (Tsang, 1995, p. 261). Among the upper echelons of government, there was an implied belief that mass support was needed for colonial rule's survival (Tsang). A number of consultative processes became the norm, including consultative bodies based on a functional rationale.

Advisory boards and committees were part of government. They consulted community interest groups and provided advice, existing in most government departments or bodies, including the Board of Education (Document V.c2: *Hong Kong 1994.* Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1994, p. 28, cited in Tsang, 1995). Another vehicle of communication for the populace was the Office of the Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Council (UMELCO), later reorganized into the Office for Members of Executive and Legislative Council (OMELCO) (Tsang). A third way of increasing public participation, catalysed as a result of the Star Ferry Riots in the 1960s, was through partially elected District Boards through councillors (Tsang).

In 2005 the first Chief Executive, Tung Chee-hwa, stepped down two years before his term ended. Part of the reason was that he was "increasingly unpopular" (BBC News, 2005b). Apart from recessions and health crisis, half a million people protested a security bill in 2003, and the same numbers demonstrated against a ruling not to proceed with direct elections for the chief executive (Agence France-Presse, 2005). It appears that consultation with the public, as well as with the PRC leadership for the chief executive should be an important consideration if he or she is to remain popular in the public eye with freedom of expression and the press.

In tandem with a distinct Hong Kong identity, which began to emerge in the late 1960s, society became more politically involved. After the war, a huge influx of Chinese immigrants moved to Hong Kong. The population swelled from 600,000 to 2.5 million in six years (Yahuda, 1996). In the late 1960s, a Hong Kong political culture developed within the university; and Chinese identity decreased while a local one had developed by the 1980s (Lui, 1999; Tsang, 1995). Political parties began to emerge in the 1980s and, at the same time, there was a push for democratization (Yahuda) combined with a countdown to 1997(Tsang).

It was noticed that Hong Kong people would not decide their destiny (Shipp, 1995), because the politics of Hong Kong were "a product of gunboat diplomacy of nineteenth century imperialism," but the journalist urged them to be vocal during the negotiations between the PRC and Britain (Document VI.c.8: Li I (Li Yee), 'Awakening to 1997', source: Ch'i-shih nein-tai, no. 142, January 1981, as cited in Tsang, pp. 255-257).

At first, Hong Kong residents viewed themselves as sojourners, considering the Mainland as their home, but their children, who grew up in Hong Kong from the mid 1970s on, began to develop a separate cultural and political identity (Yahuda, 1996) but they also identified with the ethno-cultural Chinese identity (Lau & Kuan, 1988). Yahuda and Lui (1999) also saw another reason for this phenomenon: an emergent wealth accompanied by a new middle class. This identity has grown with time. Before the handover, a survey by Ho, Chau, Chiu, and Peng (2003) demonstrated that the population did proudly identify with Hong Kong to a large extent and felt themselves to be more citizens of Hong Kong than Chinese.

Hong Kong industrialized in the post-war era. Hong Kong in the 1960s changed from being a commercial entrepôt to a manufacturing centre gaining a 'cosmopolitan outlook' (Tsang, 1995, p. 134) and since the 1980s became a financial and corporate centre (Baker, 1995; BBC news, 2005a). It has also had increasing economic integration with the Mainland (Brown, 2002; Lam, 1997; White, 2001). For example, whereas in the 1970s and 1980s most Hong Kong workers were employed in the manufacturing sector, by the 1990s most employees were hired in Guangdong, while HKSAR switched to commence (Lam & Mok, as cited in White, 2001), thus increasing the middle class (White). White surmised that this socio-economic change, which led to pluralism and modernity, was inadvertently caused by its connections to the anti-pluralist PRC. However, Yahuda (1996) noticed that China was transforming in numerous ways, including moving from totalitarianism to a more pluralistic system. Pluralism is a matter of degrees. Smooth re-integration will be likely to cause tensions.

Divergent Ideologies

Mainland China

Pre-1997 negotiations were marred with divergent discourses, but *realpolitik* came into play. Since its 1949 inception, the PRC has officially been Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (Baehr, 2001) with, according to the 1982 Constitution, 'democratic centralism' and a "socialist state under the people's democratic *laissez-faire* dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants" (as cited in Baehr, p.

108). The Chinese Communist Party (CPP) is the only legal party and, in Marxist-Leninist language, as its constitution explains, it is:

> the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China, and the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. The party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system. (as cited in Baehr, P. 108)

Ideologically, the Marxist aim of communism is in direct contradiction to the bourgeois capitalism exhibited by both Britain and its former Crown Colony of Hong Kong. Since Deng Xiaoping's premiership, the political ideology has remained the same, with the Chinese Communist Party (CPP) at the helm. However, since the 1990s, China has developed the economic policy termed market socialism (Dorn, 1998). Politically, the Marxist ideology of the PRC does not support the economic experiment. As a result, the view has been that "it is a Chinese way."

Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: How different than China?

The political and legal structure of China, the Sovereign over Hong Kong, has implications for HKSAR. Although the Basic Law of HKSAR, the mini-constitution for HKSAR after 1997, guarantees capitalism as well as the lifestyle for 50 years (Chapter 1, Article 5, as cited in Buckley, 1997), such a diversity of systems is bound to beset HKSAR's future. Although the British colonial system gave considerable rights, Baehr (2001) noted the different models on which the two systems are based. Hong Kong's system was libertarian in the sense of small government with endowed rights: the PRC and CCP constitutional notion of rights is based on the Soviet model where rights and duties correspond (Baehr).

The Basic Law guarantees the common law legal system and Hong Kong legislation as long as it is not contrary to the Basic Law (Chapter 1, Article 8, as cited in Buckley). However, Baehr (2001) argued that the Western view of rights differs from that of the PRC. In Hong Kong, liberties are at the Sovereign's benevolence, as demonstrated in a case, the overturning of a ruling by the top Hong Kong court. This is because liberties are removed from the source, hence becoming 'negative' or 'freedom from interference.' They are not 'positive' – a liberty that is "freedom as self-mastery" (Baehr, p. 103).

To put it more bluntly, Baehr (2001) surmised, in regard to the HKSAR government, that as the government has no party base from which to garnish support, it was dependant on Beijing for support. As Tsang (1995) observed, the two traditions diverged as to the Chinese, "what is not permitted is prohibited" whereas under common law, "anything that is not prohibited by law is permitted" (p. 97).

Socio-political divisions have been described as evident between Hong Kong and the Mainland. Yahuda (1996) pointed to the cultural division between the PRC and Hong Kong and noted that communist Chinese leaders do not understand that free markets need a *laissez-faire* approach, with freedoms guaranteed by law with an independent judiciary, and hardly comprehend "governmental accountability" (p. 9). He wrote that these are vital to Hong Kong with freedom of opinion, of association, with an independent judiciary and "a professional and efficient civil service that is not subject to the orders of a party cabal" (p. 9). Like Patten (1998), he credited the industriousness and entrepreneurial talents of the Hong Kong Chinese.

Ho et al. (2003), in explaining the Hongkonger identity, concluded that tensions bedevilled Hong Kong people's attitudes as a result of "divergent political cultures between Hong Kong and mainland China" that developed with Hong Kong's political history (p. 411). More specifically, these tensions were created by the desire to maintain the unique system on the one hand while, on the other, is the assimilation policy of China. Such tensions developed into a "rejuvenation of Hong Kong identity" (Fung, 2001) by creating a focus of local resistance against assimilation into the mainstream (p. 591), which led to a sense of struggle against the "politically imposed culture," leading to the re-formation of identity (p. 600).

The United Kingdom and its philosophical underpinnings

Meanwhile, the United Kingdom stands on the other end of the spectrum, with an evolved constitutional monarchy in the form of a parliamentary democracy and Western liberalism born of enlightenment philosophies of the likes of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire and John Stuart Mill. These thinkers were concerned with *inter alia* freedoms, rights, rationalism, separation of state powers, and secularism. The economy of Britain shows the influence of Adam Smith, the author of *An Inquiry Into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*; but, like most Western nations

Britain has been affected by post-war welfarism and regulation, more so during the 1970s Labour government than under the Conservative Thatcher.

Great Britain's other policy has been *Pax Brittania* – to expand the empire for economic gain. The peak of this policy, when Hong Kong was acquired, also corresponded with the latter phases of the Industrial Revolution. Britain lost most of her colonies after World War II due to independence movements, making the handover a legitimacy consideration. Moreover, Britain's economic and military power had weakened *vis-à-vis* China since the nineteenth century. As Yahuda (1996) surmised, negotiations were problematic due to different British and Chinese cultures, histories, politics, and diplomacy.

Negotiations and the Joint Declaration of 1984

While Britain had to contend with the legacy of imperialism and shrunken empire, China had re-gained its strength to face regional threats to its territorial integrity as opposed to the 19th century when different Western powers vied for ports and Japan had attacked Manchuria. The PRC is a regional power in Asia and, as Yahuda (1996) highlighted, is a growing naval and maritime power that is becoming outward looking. Yahuda wrote that China's leadership's views were affected by traditional Confucianism and mandarin administration which harboured contempt for foreigners and for those under foreign rule. As a result, during the 1990s the Chinese were permeated by nationalism in regard to the loss of face to the West for a century before the Communist takeover. When it came to negotiations, the power of the PRC versus the UK and diplomatic strategies were the hidden forces affecting the fate of the diminutive in size but economically and strategically strong Hong Kong.

The Joint Declaration between PRC and the UK set the legal and diplomatic ground for preparing for the future of Hong Kong post 1997 and was considered by the two parties as in international treaty (Yahuda, 1996)). It included increased democratic measures for the LegCo (Yahuda). Governor Edward Youde was a primary actor in negotiations. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher went to Beijing to commence talks in Beijing in 1982. In response to Chinese demands, led by Deng Xiaoping, of sovereignty over Hong Kong and a settlement by September 1984, she reminded her hosts that, out of the three treaties of Hong Kong, two were permanent cessions, which were valid under international law (Shipp, 1995). However, commentators realized that Hong Kong and the Kowloon peninsula were too integrated with the New Territories, which were on a 99-year lease (Baker, 1995). In addition, the official news line of China, Xinhua, wrote in 1982, "Hong Kong is a part of Chinese territory," the three treaties were 'unequal,' enforcement of them would be reminiscent of "the history of British imperialism's aggression against China" (as cited in Shipp, 1995, p. 37) and was neither willing to negotiate sovereignty nor post- 1997 British administration (Shipp).

While Thatcher had inherited the legacy of a shrinking empire, the country still had economic leverage. She noted that Britain had substantial financial investments in the Hong Kong economy, with market benefits for all, reminiscent of the liberal economic argument. China's response was Marxist-Leninist in tone. The subsequent negotiations were seen by some as a tame British surrender to a Chinese *fiat* (Baker, 1995) while others saw an activist British participation in the forging of the eventual agreement (Fung, 1998).

When Prime Minister Thatcher travelled to Beijing to begin the groundwork for negotiations with China, the news came as a shock to much of the population of Hong Kong (Baum, 1999). Nevertheless, the Joint Declaration, following upon the so-called Thatcher shock (Baum) can be seen, in light of this, as an attempt to mollify fears within Hong Kong and demonstrate the integrity of China's one "country, two systems policy" (Fung, 1998). The Joint Declaration was seen as accomplishing this by guaranteeing that, for 50 years following the handover, Hong Kong would be designated a Special Administrative Region of the PRC, maintaining its own separate identity in terms of laws, economic policy, trade agreements, and, in general, the continuance of its pre-handover capitalist orientation. The argument was that, following this time frame, after the elapse of the fifty years, there would be little difficulty in affecting a complete unification (Baker, 1995). Under the Joint Declaration the HKSAR was also given jurisdiction over education and the educational system and administration, including the "language of instruction," and the "examination system" (Annex I, Section X, as cited in Shipp, 1995, pp. 134-135).

The Joint Declaration, and the Basic Law promulgated by Beijing that followed, mapped out in concrete fashion the concept of "one country, two systems." This mapping was especially seen in such measures as the continuance of a separate Hong Kong currency, independent central bank, autonomous customs, budgetary, and financial institutions and policies. However, it was most fundamentally seen in the extension of an independent legal and judicial system (Baker, 1995; Fung, 1998). Essentially, the Joint Declaration allowed Hong Kong a unique position as a separate international entity, including its continuing membership in the WTO (Fung), as well as, in theory internal autonomy.

Constitutional Reforms During the 1980s

Political reform in the late 1980s became a battleground between the moderate British, the democratic activists in Hong Kong, and the reactionary official Chinese policy and its supporters in Hong Kong. The British government's commitment to democracy in Hong Kong and giving an increased role and voice to the colony's residents was questioned in its presentation of the Green Paper. By glossing over definite constitutional reforms and merely submitting a request for input on several given political options, the British government and administration was criticized as ignoring fundamental issues pertaining to the democratisation of the colony's administrative structure that had been brought forward in 1984 (Chan, 1996). At the same time, the PRC authorities did not hesitate to voice opposition to direct elections and portrayed any attempt by the British to foster representative government as a contravention of the Joint Declaration between the two countries and as fundamentally alien to the Basic Law as it was being drafted (Chan). For example, Governor Patten based his proposals on the Basic Law, while Beijing said they were contra to its interpretation, vehemently opposing them.

In response, Hong Kong's pro-democracy activists claimed that China, by interfering in Hong Kong's internal affairs, was itself in breach of the Joint Declaration. Rather, arguing that any constitutional changes made prior to the handover date where perfectly valid, they further voiced their concern over China's assertions on the necessity for Hong Kong's convergence with the as then unknown Basic Law. A media battle ensued between pro-democracy and pro-Beijing advocates. In this barrage of media debates, China manoeuvred to shape the future and showed its heavy hand, quelling debate by its adamant opposition to a liberal democracy and by playing to British interest in securing support (Tsang, 1995). Despite this, Legislative Council reforms occurred in

1985 with an increase of council members to 57. Unofficial members became the majority with 21% being elected by an electoral college, 21% by functional constituencies, and 39% appointed by the Governor, with 18% being officials, plus the Governor (Tsang). In 1985 "indirect elected members were introduced in some numbers" (Tsang).

The British grasped the full extent of China's opposition to representative government and the democratisation of the colony and opted to pass, in 1988; the White Paper entitled *The Development of Representative Government: The Way Forward*, which laid emphasis on "prudent and gradual" change. The paper stated a goal that: "the system in place before 1997 should permit a smooth transition in 1997 and a high degree of continuity thereafter" (as cited in Tsang, 1995, p. 96). Although it mandated that at least 10 of the 58 members in the LegCo were to be selected by direct election, it also provided for China's 'convergence' policy between internal reform and the Basic Law (Chan, 1996). In 1988, two seats in the LegCo became functional constituencies instead of appointed members, but direct elections were postponed until 1991 when directly elected members were introduced (Tsang). That year, and in 1995, pro-democracy legislators won a majority.

Through the Hong Kong government's support for the stated policy of convergence, allied with the lack of referenda on the key issues and the slow pace of reform, many of Hong Kong's activists and pro-democracy leaders felt a sense of abandonment and duplicity on the British part (Chan, 1996). Why did it take the British six years before the expiration of the treaty to bring in representative democracy? This is, no doubt, a critique of British administration. To complicate matters further, the Tiananmen incident of 1989 derailed relations between Britain and China (Yahuda, 1996) and saw one million in the streets of Hong Kong in support of the pro-democracy movement (Shipp, 1995).

The Basic Law

The Basic Law laid the legal foundations of this unique arrangement of "one country, two systems," as set out in the preamble of the Basic Law, but it had its controversies. The PRC's nominated officials drafted the legal document; both Chinese and Hong Kong residents took part. The Chinese National People's Congress promulgated it in 1990. The autonomy clause in the Hong Kong constitution sets the territory apart, though the degree of independence does not make it sovereign. The Basic Law reaffirms that HKSAR is "an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China" (Article 1) but that:

> The National People's Congress authorizes the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region to exercise a high degree of autonomy and enjoy executive, legislative and independent judicial power, including of final adjudication, in accordance with the provisions of this Law. (Article 2, as cited in Buckley, 1997, pp. 195-196)

Patten (1998), in writing about the British government's opinion, noted that it was not their or his constitution:

> Britain had tacitly, and with a degree of deserved embarrassment, given it a distant blessing, but we were not legally, politically, or morally bound by it. There were parts of it, for example its provisions on subversion, that I did not like and had some difficulty reconciling with the Joint Declaration and the common law (p. 33).

The 1990s Under the British Sunset

Governor Patten, considered a democrat, proposed a reform package that caused a rift between the Chinese and British governments. In his address in 1992, referring to the Joint Declaration he said that the two countries had agreed, "that democracy should be carried forward with a Legislature constituted entirely by elections. The Basic Law provides for a steady increase in the number of those directly elected in the Legislature" as he acknowledged the public will for democracy (Document II.e4: Our next five years: The agenda for Hong Kong, address to the Hong Kong Legislative Council, 7 October 1992, as cited in Tsang, 1995, p. 99). Besides talking about democratic ideals and the importance of an independent judiciary in supporting the business environment, Patten highlighted, "My intention is to ensure that we have vigorous and effective executive-led government that is properly accountable to the Legislative Council" (cited in Tsang, p. 99). He mentioned the 1995 elections and how the democratisation reforms should continue post-1997 to reach 100% directly elected members (the 'through train'), with talks with the PRC.

China's official response was swift and heated. They issued a statement that the reform package would legally be abandoned on July 1st, 1997. Patten's confrontational stance was not well received as the moves were seen as unilateral. From 1995 until June

1997, LegCo had 60 members: 20 were elected through geographical constituencies, 30 functional constituencies, and the remainder chosen by an election committee. The PRC set up a provisional government.

Patten's reforms of the Executive Council (ExCo) proved less controversial (Tsang, 1995). He suggested that there be no "overlapping" ExCo and LegCo memberships" (Document III.a9: Our next five years: The agenda for Hong Kong, address by Governor Patten to the Hong Kong Legislative Council, 7 October 1992, as cited in Tsang, p. 113). He proposed "the new Executive Council to be a non-party political body from which I can look forward for sound, impartial advice on the wide range of issues that come [*sic*] before the Administration" (pp. 113-114). He appointed independent community members and planned for senior government officials to join the ExCo. Their primary role was to develop policy on 'strategic issues' (p. 114).

Post 1997 System and Politics

The HKSAR government has an executive-led political system (Holliday et al, 2002; Loh, 2004). Whether the executive-led system means a strong Chief Executive or a strong bureaucracy is debatable, and the HKSAR has elements of a "pseudo-democracy" (White, 2001) or a "limited democracy" (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). Loh defined it as a system with constitutional power accorded to the Chief Executive. This post-colonial political system parallels the colonial structure. Like the governors, the Chief Executive is a "constitutional viceroy." However, because "direct LegCo election is partly a vote of confidence on his administration" these curbs his or her *de jure* power (White, 2001, p. 14). Furthermore, observers noticed that in Tung's case, his power was curtailed because he was not popularly elected, and he had to deal with powerful civil servants who had come in the 'through train' and the middle class supported Democratic Party (White).

The Basic Law outlined the procedures for the Chief Executive selection and duties, as well as the maintenance of the Legislative and Executive Councils. The former's role is to legislate: to "enact, amend or repeal laws" not regarding the budget or the government system, subject to Chief Executive prior approval and assent, (Articles 73, 74, 76) with the latter's role being to assist in policy-making (Article 54, Basic Law, as cited in Shipp, 1995). The Chief Executive, under the Basic Law, is vested with considerable power as the head of the region (Chapter IV, article 43, as cited in Buckley, 1997).

Despite the presence of the legislative body, the HKSAR government has a strong executive with a limited franchise for the legislature. The legislative body's power is limited to overseeing government policies and passing the budget without real legislative powers of its own (BBC News, 2004). Constitutionally, elected LegCo members cannot introduce or debate motions without permission from the Chief Executive, who is the plenipotentiary over policy so that the Chief Executive has over-riding power when conflict arises (White, 2001). Therefore, the legislators' key influence exists when the media highlights their opinions.

LegCo members are elected, since 1998, through a mixture of functional and geographical constituencies or by an Election Committee. The Basic Law states that the end goal is to have the election of all LegCo members chosen through universal suffrage (Chapter IV, Article 68, as cited in Buckley, 1997). Whether elections will be interpreted in the liberal democracy sense or the PRC way, or a combination of the two, is still unresolved.

The post-handover system is heavily influenced by the PRC. The executive is accountable to the central government with limited popular checks required for autonomy (Holliday et al., 2002). First, the chief executive is constitutionally accountable to the Central People's Government and the HKSAR (Basic Law, Chapter IV, article 43, as cited in Buckley, 1997). Accountability to the people is omitted, though there is a provision for the final objective being universal suffrage after nomination by a selection committee (Basic Law, Chapter IV, article 43). In practice, choosing the chief executive is orchestrated by China through a pro- Beijing electoral college. As a result, the territory is far from politically autonomous, except to a small degree through counter measures that temper the chief executive's power through freedom of the press, demonstration, and to a lesser extent the legislature.

Second, when Mr. Tung resigned from his post, officially due to ill health, some saw this as a sign of Chinese disapproval of his leadership, where he became unpopular due to his poor handling over the calls for democratisation (BBC News, 2005c). Observers saw, in this move, the hidden hand of Beijing officialdom, restricting Hong

Kong's freedoms and controlling the decision-making process (BBC News, 2005b). Nevertheless, in the 2004 legislative elections, 25 of the available 60 seats went to pro-democracy candidates (BBC News, 2004), demonstrating that, despite Beijing and its allies, there still exists a constituency for democratisation and protest in Hong Kong. China viewed pro-democracy activism in Hong Kong with concern, as evidenced by the relief felt in Beijing official circles over the lack of success experienced by pro-democracy parties in the 2004 elections for the LegCo (Luard, 2004). Some focussed on the first Chief Executive's problems arising from the strong British inherited bureaucracy and limited democracy (Tsang, as cited in Hsiung, 2000).

Another not so hidden contingent of power that stakes a claim over the political agenda and policy is the business class. Businesspeople, whether part of formal government or not, held *de facto* political power from early colonial days, through the post-World War II era, and until the advent of Patten's governorship (White, 2001). They opposed LegCo democratisation and feared populist movements that would increase taxes. Analysts saw, even post 1997, that "Hong Kong's real government" was composed of "business people who were and still are mostly outside its formal government" leading to conflict between government and non-government organizations (White, p. 5). By this view, Tung Chee-hwa's government did not hold all the cards.

The Challenge of Democracy

Eight years after the sovereignty transfer constitutional issues as they related to popular democratisation remain. The main reasons for the continuing issues has been provisions for increased franchise. In June 2005, Donald Tsang was chosen by the 800-strong election committee as Chief Executive (Hogg, 2005). There are still the unsolved constitutional reform agenda and the call for democratic reforms for the chief executive, which China ruled out for 2007 (Tsang, 2005), his or her cabinet, and for the LegCo. But, "To get constitutional reform through he needs 40-60 votes in LegCo," according to Michael DeGolyer, but opinion is divided, so Tsang's task is to compromise (cited in Hogg, 2001). Andy Ho claimed that Beijing would rule on the democracy issue (cited in Hogg). Such divisions within Hong Kong, and the test as to where real power lies, are signs of the times in HKSAR. Whether the democratic movement will gain ground or whether Beijing will flex its muscle will be played out in the LegCo, the courts, and the media. Less controversially, Tsang, according to Christine Loh, planned to appoint more members to the ExCo (cited in Hogg).

According to Steve Tsang, "If Hong Kong people could be left to its own devices, its people would chose democratisation. But Hong Kong is not master of its own house" as, despite maximum internal autonomy, the straightjacket is CPP primacy in China and Hong Kong SAR (p. 28). The system is such that PRC's leaders can veto changes to the political system (BBC News, 2005e). There seem to be inevitable contradictions in the system, thanks to its colonial past, and its new arrangement, combined with the democratic movement.

Freedom to demonstrate exists in practice, as does freedom of opinion, but certain views are tempered in the media. In 2005, there was a vigil to mark the 16th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown. As the BBC's Chris Hogg reported, China continued to strive to make certain that commemorations were curtailed everywhere in the state except for those held in Hong Kong (BBC News, 2005d). This situation showed that HKSAR had guaranteed freedom of expression (speech, press, publication, association, assembly, procession, demonstration) as set out in Chapter 3, Article 27 of the Basic Law (as cited in Buckley, 1997).

But a media rights organization, Reporters Without Borders, acknowledged that there is freedom but also self-censorship (BBC News, 2005). Others saw a similar pattern of limitations on press freedoms (Flowerdew, 2001; Sing, 2003) and the fear of becoming a part of Beijing's propaganda machine (Holliday et al., 2002). Flowerdew noted that there was executive-led government control of the public discourse, such as when two municipal councils were abolished in 1999 and when the Court of Final Appeal decision on Mainland residents was overruled.

The judiciary of HKSAR is not wholly self-regulating. Article 18 states that: "the HKSAR Region shall be vested with independent judicial power, including that of final adjudication" (p. 198). However, as precedent demonstrates in the right of abode case of Hong Kong parents' children born on the Mainland, when the Hong Kong's Court of Final Appeal's s ruling was overturned by the NPCSC of the PRC, this right of judicial independence was broken (Holliday et al., 2002; White, 2001). Another case of Mainland influence was demonstrated over the case of a chair of a holding company, also a

Mainland National People's Congress member, who defrauded advertisers. However, the Secretary of Justice decided not to take the matter to court, but cited economic reasons against taking it further (White). Incidentally, the chief executive was a former director of the company. Democrats insisted on her resignation, but the chief executive supported her.

Concluding Thoughts

As the 50 year "one country, two systems" formula suggests, China's goal is to re-integrate Hong Kong into China, and that is happening slowly. There are many signs for this. One is that, although English is permitted to remains as the official language, the other is Chinese (Chapter 1, Article 9 of the Basic Law, as cited in Buckley, 1997) – but which Chinese language? Mandarin has come increasingly prevalent, despite the fact that the local spoken language is Cantonese, a Chinese dialect.

Another sign is that the autonomy sections in the negotiations were pursued more by the British, not the Chinese, and the British desired "autonomy to the highest degree" and therefore China has not pursued it full heartedly. But, there are counter-measures against assimilation. One is civil society in its fight for autonomy (Holliday et al., 2002). As the requisite for nationhood is often a distinct nationality and this is not the case for Hong Kong's people. A second is a democratic polity, which is also absent (Holliday et al., 2002.). This, combined with increased economic integration with China in the last several decades, means that re-integration appears to be occurring, but with pockets of resistance.

Hong Kong's own identity, only apparent since the 1960s and after years of colonial rule, remains weak and fractured. Hong Kong is emerging into a postcolonial era, but with a gaze that still reflects the decolonisation process that has yet to fully begin and develop into a new political and cultural context (Erni, 2001). The future for Hong Kong remains to be worked out amidst the political, economic, and socio-cultural discourses that permeate its relationship with China and its colonial past.

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Survey of Hong Kong's Education System Chapter 3

This chapter provides an overview of the education system within a contextual political history and a socio-political synopsis. It first examines the general political and social climate, mainly since World War II, and focussing on the 1990s, with education history (including relevant mainstream history) summarized in five phases. Next, themes will be discussed, with emphasis on 1990s curriculum and reforms. As policies such as the language issue are still unfolding, the literature is not definitive. The conclusion will summarize my ideas about the state of education in Hong Kong. It is hoped that this chapter will provide an overview of the major trends and controversies that have affected education policy in Hong Kong since the inception of the colony and allow for a broad understanding of the issues, in a historical context, that have played a major role in shaping curricular debate in the colonial and post-colonial periods

Political, Social Climate and Education

A study of Hong Kong's education policy is more comprehensive if placed within the context of the larger political and social climate. As previously demonstrated, Hong Kong's history has been excessively marked by the processes of British paternal colonialism leading on to the uncertainties and political and social conflicts created by the return of sovereignty back to the mother country, China. It has become clear that these factors have stamped their influences on Hong Kong in all aspects of life, political, social, cultural, economic, and education. Questions must therefore arise as to how the contact between the local, native Hong Kong socio-cultural *milieu*, the imposed British conception of rule and colonial administration, and the now superimposed Mainland Chinese system of governance and ideology have interacted, in forms of assimilation and conflict, to influence and develop Hong Kong's education structure and pedagogical philosophies.

Three articles are examined in depth as they provide general background and act as core studies. Anthony Sweeting's 1997 study examined economics and politics as they shaped education policy. He believed in a "broad historical perspective, demonstrating that concerns about the future of the colony of Hong Kong are recurrent and almost as old as the colony itself" (p. 171). Sweeting's 1995 study examined the economic, social, and political factors that impacted on education policy and education in reality. Sweeting summed up sometimes-contradictory themes found in the literature; that education is valued in Hong Kong because of the traditional Chinese culture (Confucianism) and because of "its association with deculturation within a colonial and trade-centred environment, and part from its perceived contributions to what sociologists describe as 'achieved status'" (p. 102). Policy was seen as a process affected by the larger social, economic, and political environment. Before World War II, education was divided into Chinese and "Western" streams. After the war, Hong Kong's own education arose, partly as a result of larger developments. The David Post (1994) study provides a societal-education link. Post examined the results of public education expansion at the lower secondary level and analysed the political and economic dynamics that influenced this expansion

The early colonial period (1840s and 1850s) was characterized by scepticism about the future (Sweeting, 1997). This period set the stage for education policy as influenced by politics (namely in relations with China), economics (trade), and demographics (migratory waves). Schooling in Hong Kong prior to the British takeover is uncertain and not definitely recorded, although scholars posited some form of schooling availability due to the traditional respect paid to education in China (Ho, 1996; Crawford, 1995). With the arrival of British colonial administration, Hong Kong's schooling was limited and in the hands of missionaries. During the mid 1800s Western type of education dominated, as missionaries imported their culture, but Chinese traditions existed and Chinese classics existed as part of the Central School Curriculum (Bray, 1991). However, Chinese private schools thrived. As Ho (1996) argued, immediately upon the founding of the colony missionaries arrived upon the newly claimed island to establish schools with the intent of converting the local Chinese population, many of which have continued to present times. In the initial colonial era, these missionaries were not only responsible for setting up religion based schooling, but the Christian church also took charge of the administration of the few government education establishments and *de facto* controlled education policy and direction as the education board and school personnel were, perforce, Christians. This dominance began to be eroded with the passing of the 1870 Foster's Education Act in England, which placed on parents and school boards the final decision as to religious education. For Hong Kong, this meant the rapid decrease in religious controlled schooling and the virtual elimination of the curriculum of religious instruction.

The late nineteenth century up to 1945 was the second stage of colonial rule (Sweeting, 1997). At this time, the colony's second governor asked for financial aid to schools. Later, another governor held a conference at which it was recognized that the study of English was important for political and business reasons. Government local school assistance, as opposed to missionary schools, was meant to allow for continuation of the local culture. Little attention was originally paid to language policy in education, with government schooling conducted in English while most private schools used Chinese with the former being considered more elitist (Lai & Byram, 2003). However, the governor of 1878 believed that the English language in schools was beneficial (Sweeting, 1997) and, as Lai and Byram (2003) argued, considerations of business and politics led to a gradual move towards increased English language instruction, with bilingual schools becoming the mainstream, outperforming Chinese language schooling. Sweeting (1997) neither takes the view that colonisation was exploitative, nor that education was cultural imperialism intended to form an elite. A century ago Mainland China affected politics and education. In addition, elite businessmen influenced the latter. By the start of the twentieth century, concern over China's influence led to Director of Education school and textbook inspections. In the 1920s and 1930s political and economic events such as the General Strike of 1926 and the Guomindang New Life Movement influenced the curriculum, as Sweeting argued, namely by introducing civics and by reforming Chinese in a bid to counter act and minimise the growth in Chinese nationalism within the colony.

By the latter half of this initial period of pre-World War II colonial education, the government's previous policy of hands off control of education policy was altered as the colonial administration sought to bring greater clarity and organizational responsibility to Hong Kong schooling. A bill (1913) was brought into force to place greater controls over private schools (Ho, 1996), creating the necessity for official registration, which depended upon schools meeting governmental education standards. Incidentally, Ho also related a similar assertion of control over religious schooling in China proper, although in this case the motivation was more directed from a mistrust of church schools and a desire to control them, while the colonial government in Hong Kong felt the need to establish controls over all private schools.

Although the religious dominance over schooling in the first stage may lead one to assume a concerted policy of education for colonialism and an outward policy of cultural assimilation, the nature of early schooling suggest this was not necessarily the case. The colonial government's initial disinterest in education policy was hardly emblematic of a concerted campaign of intentional assimilation while the original missionary schools tended to use a system whereby half of instruction was in the English language while half was in either Cantonese or Mandarin (Sweeting & Edwards, 2005). Further, as Sweeting and Edwards demonstrated, the first government assisted schools were founded in Chinese villages, utilizing Cantonese as the primary vehicle of instruction. Nevertheless, it is clear that as the colonial period wore on and events in China became increasingly dominated by an upsurge in a resurrected nationalism, there were increasing fears of Chinese nationalism promulgated within the colony through education (Vickers, Kan, & Morris, 2003). As the latter authors pointed out, this led to an official Chinese history curriculum that was more focussed on ancient Chinese history than on current events then transpiring in the nearby Chinese Mainland. Yet, as Vickers, Kan, and Morris noted, most schools in which Chinese was the instructional language used history textbooks from the Mainland. Thus, education for colonialism, although certainly present and a theme in education policy, was made more complicated by the continued use of Chinese language instruction and, at least in this initial stage, by the government's lack of directional policy making as it related to education. Although fears of Chinese nationalism did play a major role in education policy, it is also significant that business interests from many communities and nationalities, including ethnic Chinese, also played a major role in influencing schooling, including promoting technical and vocational schools (Sweeting, 1997). Hong Kong's education policy in this time, therefore, was a complicated *nexus* of colonial attempts to reduce Chinese nationalist influences, along with pressures from capitalist economic players, and more than a modicum of local Chinese participation and their continued influence on education.

Many strands of thought and policy initiatives mark the post-war phases of education policy in Hong Kong. Sweeting (1995) summarizes the themes in education practice and policy after 1945. They are: expansionist (growing school policy), sequential, starting with primary education and working its way up, variably private as demonstrated by the "aided sector," increasingly autochthonous or "de-Anglocentrification of the curriculum," with a Hong Kong Examination Authority formed in 1977 to administer three examinations, and finally, in quantitative terms, women gained equal education opportunities (pp. 111-116). The examinations implemented were: The Hong Kong Certificate of Education, the Higher Level Examination, and the Advanced Level Examination. In addition, Sweeting outlined the government papers and reports, identifying the Policy Directive of Education of 1946 as the blueprint, though at the time it was not followed. As far as the language of instruction, the government had a hands-off policy, with the end result that parents largely chose to send their children to English-language schools, largely due to the economic value of English, while the promotion of Chinese language schools did not work. These stages in Hong Kong education history, following the hiatus and interruptions caused by the Japanese invasion and occupation, continued the gradual growth and development marked in the first two phases and demonstrated the continuing controversies and conflicts within the education policies of the colony.

The third phase was post World War II reconstruction and headlong expansion (1945 to about 1978). Reconstruction, rebuilding, and rehabilitation characterized this era. Sweeting (1995) mapped out the major economic, political, and social transitions. Industrialization's major phase occurred during the late 1940s, especially in textiles, low value goods, and with small firms. The industrialization process continued during the 1960s and by the mid-1970s there was a need for "diversification," which led to tertiary, service industries. The 1950s saw mass immigration from China (PRC), negatively effecting relations with China, but positively impacting school expansion as demands for greater access to secondary schooling grew (Crawford, 1995). Views of the PRC, the economy, and deferral of constitutional delay were described by Sweeting (1995) as a "volatile scene for education policy making" (p. 175). Changes occurred in tertiary education policy and a communist school was closed. The 1960s education policy included goals for universal primary schooling and the expansion of secondary schooling. Economic growth occurred and education lobby groups became active during the 1970s, particularly left-wing protest and action groups that upheld a progressivist stance towards education and were viewed with suspicion by the authorities as leftist agitators.

In this atmosphere, the government took over "centralised populism" to gain legitimacy. Technological and technical post-secondary institutions opened in response to a change from "entrepôt trading" to production with the use of technology and the growth of the service industries, for example, banking, and communications. Politically, from the late 1940s to early 1980s, the government was a "bureaucratic oligarchy" with no mechanism of accountability to the people in place, and *de facto* independence (Sweeting, 1995, p. 106). On a societal level, post-war up till the 1960s was a time of reconstruction, of refugee thinking focussed on increasing one's standard of living, of riots, eventually a Hong Kong identity, and a burgeoning middle-class. Economic and political forces impacted on education policy. Junior secondary education was expanded (Green and White Papers, 1977, 1978), the secondary school exam was eradicated (SSEE), leading the way to mass access, and special education had new goals. The reconstruction era was primary school oriented, competitive, and elitist. The mid-1960s, and for the next twenty years, was a time of "the search of a publicly acceptable education policy" (Sweeting, 1997, p. 109). Solidification of universal primary education was achieved by 1971, as outlined in the 1965 White Paper. Pressure groups lobbied for the expansion of the secondary school system.

This extension of secondary schooling was tied to public policy decisions, as up to the late 1980s there was no influence of political parties, nor did parents have a strong voice (Post, 1994). At the most, the Professional Teacher's Union played a minor role. Hong Kong as a colony held "tight bureaucratic control over public welfare institutions" (Garnier, Hage, & Fuller, as cited in Post, p. 122), and dealt with social services autocratically. The Labour Party governor of 1971 instituted social welfare reforms, such as publicly funded lower secondary schooling, which became formal policy in 1978 with free universal lower secondary education up to form 3. Post's major argument was that, "The discussion of education expansion was couched entirely in the language of manpower planning and economic efficiency" (p. 123). Child labour was a major underlying factor for mandatory, free schooling, which ended the "home-production economy, whereby children assisted parents in piecework for small factories," (p. 124) and child labour laws were enacted. Only upper secondary schools charged fees after 1978 and the state increased the education subsidy by "buying places" for students in private schools. This was in contrast to pre-1968 restrictive and regulatory policies such as the dual construction of schools, school fees, and grant schools. Mass schooling was equated with "progress and modernity" (p. 124).

The planning for mass access in a more certain future (1978 to ca. 1988) was the fourth phase. It was a time, according to Sweeting (1997), when public pressure was on universality up to secondary school and, with concern over standards; planning was needed for all levels of schooling. OECD delegates influenced the growth of tertiary and technical/technological education. This was a time of "*real polik*" and "politicisation of educational discourse" (p. 177-178). The language of instruction became contentious, private schooling declined, and political activity became acceptable. Economic growth led to increased wealth, a burgeoning middle class, and a "brain drain" after the Sino-British Agreement. These factors resulted in parental pressure for English language as the *modus operandi*. Education transitions began with an elitist education system after World War II, culminating in mass access by the 1970s, with policy-oriented goals from the 1980s while technical and technological education institutes opened.

The next phase of education policy occurred during the mid-1980s after the policy oriented Education Branch of the Government Secretariat was set up in 1981, shortly thereafter to be renamed the Education and Manpower Branch (EMB) in 1983. The EMB took responsibility for the creation, direction, and review of education policy and programs from kindergarten to the post-secondary level (Murad, 2002). Under its *aegis*, the Education Department became charged with overseeing the provision of quality schooling for all Hong Kong students while the Education Commission, formed in 1984, became the chief advisory body to the government, particularly in the areas of curriculum, assessment, and administration.

This period saw Education Commission Reports churned out, stimulating public debate on quality, the curriculum, and language instruction (Cheng, 1999). Tertiary education (post-secondary institutions) expanded as they gained government support, with new universities opening up and undergraduate places increased. There was a move towards administration decentralization, through the School Based Management Development programme (1988), the Direct Subsidy Scheme (1990), and the School Management Initiative (SMI) in 1991, which were at best partially implemented (Sweeting, 1997). Curriculum improvement was addressed through the Curriculum Development Institute while assessment was provided a standardized framework yet critiques existed as to lack of research and a focus on input (Cheng).

Despite the fluctuations and debates witnessed in education policy, continued expansion of education was having an affect on Hong Kong's population and its socio-cultural make-up. Post (1994) examined the socio-economic background of students as it relates to government policy. He utilized household census data for those aged 16 to 20 at the time of the census, using 1% random samples from 1976, 1981, and 1986. His conclusion related to the decreasing stratification, equalizing effects of government policy:

> The coefficients for the interaction terms reveal that as a result of the new educational policy, children of high-income fathers were at less of an advantage than were previously compared children of low-income fathers in the relative odds of continuing to lower secondary school. Similarly, females became more likely to continue to lower secondary school with the advent of the MacLehose policy, increased subsidies, and the augmentation of free public places in Form 1. (Post, 1994, p. 132)

Furthermore, female students became slightly advantaged in attending upper secondary school. In conclusion, gender and family background became irrelevant.

Sweeting (1997) characterized the years 1989 to 1997, and looking into the future, the years following the handover, as a time of "renewed uncertainties," created by the interplay of socio-political factors as well as dilemmas over language education and the publication of in-depth education statistics by the Manpower Bureau. The 1990s saw an ever-increasing number of reforms, mostly related to the idea of quality education and furthered by the extension of mandatory education, a growing desire for higher student and teacher standards expressed by tertiary education institutions and employers, the impulse of economic competitiveness in a global marketplace (allied with the perception of a growing movement elsewhere for quality education), and, following the sovereignty handover, a desire by the new administration to see the citizens of Hong Kong within a framework of prosperity to help ensure continued stability (Dowson, Bodycott, Walker, & Coniam, 2000).

Many studies describe the 1990s reforms. Dimmock and Walker (1998) explained that this was a time of policy, of Western inspired reforms such as School Management Initiatives (SMI), Target-Oriented Curricula (TOC), and Quality School Education (QSE) or ECR 7. The first and last mentioned were aimed at the administrative and managerial components of schooling and TOC was aimed at assessment. SMI was introduced to "overhaul the public sector" with elements based around reviews of public expenditure, results, responsibilities, and more management (p. 3).

Several authors delve into the largely defunct TOC. Morris (1997, 2002) and Morris and Ling (2000) focused in depth on the TOC policy that lasted 10 years with three phases lasting throughout the 1990s. 1990 was the first phase with emphasis on assessment, the last being 1997 to 2000 when schools were de-labelled as proponents and TOC was not mentioned in speeches. The intent was to have a social constructivist, task-based learning, integrative across subjects, and related to learning targets. It was voluntary, with the decision being left up to principals, encouraged by block grants. Tensions within the system remained as primary 6 students were tested for future studies and divisions between subjects remained. In addition, Morris and Ling highlighted the tensions between ideologies – tension between elite vs. egalitarian values, Chinese vs. Western values, top down vs. local decisions, and child vs. subject centred education. Perhaps the failure of TOC can also be explained by a qualitative study. Lee and Dimmock (1999) questioned the efficacy of cross-curricular reforms, and concluded that principals and vice-principals influence the quality of learning and teaching, but they are not curriculum leaders. Nevertheless, TOC lived on, with the Education and Manpower Bureau extending it to all primary classes in Chinese, English, and mathematics education for the 2000-2001 school year (Education and Manpower Bureau, 1997).

The impending British handover of the colony and Tiananmen Square events impacted on education policy. The curriculum was changed, with local history being offered. The strands that appeared included: "one world" history, politicisation of the curriculum, and data type questioning. Moreover, trends indicated that education policy was becoming similar to China's, while moving away from British influences. Sweeting (1995) reinforced the external and internal forces that effected education policies, from economic and social post-war transformations to the sovereignty issue. Curriculum change, tertiary expansion, SMI, the Direct Subsidy Scheme, and TOC are called "centralized decentralization" (Sweeting, 1995, p. 126). At the same time, there were signs that the bureaucracy was saving itself.

As the handover took place, the key words in education reform were school performance, effectiveness, planning, and evaluation. Quality School Education was a continuation of SMI, with the "framework by which to monitor and assure quality" schools (Dimmock & Walker, 1998, p. 4). This wave of education reform focused on management processes and whole school reform (Cheng, 1999) as the Education Commission recognized weaknesses such as a lack of quality culture (Dimmock & Walker, 1998, p. 5). Reforms, as outlined in the policy address by Chee Hwa Tung, the Chief Executive of the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government, were meant to encapsulate long-term education development and reform in order to maximise effectiveness and competitiveness. Beyond promoting quality education, the new administration also set as goals the improvement of teacher quality and education, the enhancement of language education (English, Chinese and Putonghua), developing whole day primary schooling, and increased investment in programs for new immigrants from the Mainland and for information technology integration into the classroom (Cheng, 1999; Dowson et al., 2000; Murad, 2002). In the end, education policy, in light of the handover and all the history that has preceded it, can be summarized by Sweeting's (1997) conclusion that, "Hong Kong's survival and success to date, … in the face of stress … created by the 1997 factor has resulted largely from interactions between the craft of the highly improbable with … 'busy-ness' as usual" (p. 183).

General Themes

Schooling and education policy in Hong Kong reflect themes that demonstrate the interconnectivity of government policy and political realities, cultural and social paradigms, and economic pressures and influences. It is important to note how the colonial government, the market, and the sovereignty handover have impacted the education agenda. As pointed out by Sweeting (1997) and Post (1994), the colonial state proceeded with education extension and policies, but had to align more and more with the People's Republic of China's (PRC's) policies. Post delineated the role of the post-war state and markets.

Morris (1997) argued that education policy and the very nature of learning in Hong Kong, since World War II, were primarily shaped according to the actualities of the political and economic specifics current at the time. From 1945 to 1965, this meant that the state defined acceptable knowledge using coercion to counter threats. For the period from 1965 to 1984 market forces, with consideration of China, increasingly shaped valid knowledge and this process continued into the1990s, with the handover increasingly visible as a shaping force. Walker and Dimmock (1998), quoting Sweeting and Morris (1993), explained education policy as a politicised, "chaotic," "*ad hoc* response to crises," adding that this disorganization was "compounded by the imminence of the change of sovereignty" (p. 4). The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) was given jurisdiction over education, the education system, and administration under the Sino-British Joint Declaration (1994), yet questions of autonomy loomed. Walker and Dimmock did not see direct links between reforms and the sovereignty issue, but viewed it as restructuring similar to that in the West, except for the introduction of civics and Putonghua (Mandarin). These differences over reasons for policies are not resolved by reading the selected studies and require document analysis.

Colonial transition needed to mirror the new government, with the change of curriculum, textbooks, and language (Bray, 2000). Between 1984 and 1997, new subjects were introduced: Putonghua, government and public affairs, liberal studies (about the political changes), and the social studies syllabus changed. Social studies became more

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politicised. Textbooks were re-written. Even though English was popular, the government tried to encourage Chinese as the primary medium of instruction, despite concerns raised in some quarters that the need for English language ability had become greater than ever (Murad, 2002; Lai & Byram, 2003). This abrupt desire by the administration of the new HKSAR to install Chinese as the new official language of instruction was seen as a reaction to a perceived failure of English in the learning environment and a desire to ensure the position of Chinese in the former crown colony by eliminating English as a significant medium of communication, in education and in society in general (Lai & Byram, 2003). The Education and Manpower Bureau, in its 1997 Policy Address Report, called for secondary schools to ensure that the "appropriate" medium of instruction was implemented and that, with the 1998-1999 intake into Secondary 1, all academic subjects would be though in Chinese unless a school had demonstrated conclusively that it met "the necessary requirements" for effective English language instruction. The address also called for sanctions against those schools that had not complied with mother tongue education directives while urging further methods to encourage Chinese medium education and alleviate fears of parents in this regard (Education and Manpower Bureau, 1997). Ultimately, the government hopes for trilingualism in Cantonese, English, and Putonghua.

Economics has continued to be prominent as an underlying theme. First, Morris, Kan, and Morris (2000) cited the recession as having an impact on making education policy vital for "efficiency/value for money and the suitability of schooling in preparing pupils for the labour market" (p. 3). Fok (2001) dealt with the influence of market forces – the recent recession, competition with neighbours, globalization, and worries about not having adequate 'manpower' to meet the knowledge economy. He tied in how the current teacher-centred teaching, factual memorization type curriculum, streaming of upper-secondary, and competition and learning for earning mentalities require a paradigm shift to a more flexible system as described by the Education Commission since 1988, which called for a more inclusive education system with lifelong learning and extra elements such as moral education. That decade, TOC tried to remedy the same perceived problems, but was not fully implemented. Finally, the handover era saw the emergence of continuing education, cast in the form of life long learning, as a crucial aspect of the new education agenda in light of the perceived need for global economic competitiveness (Kennedy, 2004).

Economic factors, in tandem with cultural values and traditions, also have played a crucial role in the development of an education system described as subject-centred in a hierarchy and exam driven to sort and select students into further studies and jobs. Test results have shown that Hong Kong students are at the top in mathematics and science, and in language their scores are similar to the best OECD countries (ranking sixth). For example, Hong Kong's fifteen-year-olds came first overall out of forty-three countries, according to the OECD Programme for International Assessment (PISA), with between 4,500 and 10,000 students tested (OECD/UNESCO, 2003). In direct correlation with PISA test results, mathematics, languages, and science are ranked the highest and get the most teaching time. Is this the answer as to why Hong Kong students place so well in these subjects? A survey cited in Morris (1997) showed that recommended subject allocations are biased towards those three traditional subjects, and in practice are exceeded at the cost of other low-status cultural, technical, and practical subjects. High-status subjects are weighed higher at secondary level three. Students who do well in humanities receive lower marks in exams. In addition, physical education and music teachers are often asked to "give up" lessons. Morris commented that information technology and Mandarin are popular, escalating the problem.

Despite reforms, exams are still important and schools continue to act as a sorting mechanism for higher studies and for high status jobs. Although six years of primary school are universal, by the end of primary 5 and 6 pupils face internal assessments moderated by the Academic Aptitude Test (AAT) in both Verbal Reasoning and Numerical Reasoning in Chinese (Choi, 1999, p. 2). Children are sorted to junior secondary schools, which lasts three years. Results, bands, and parental choice, as well as other factors play a part. Choi explained that the OECD called the education system exam-driven in 1992, but that it had changed, with only two public exams the following year reduced from about eight. However, the Chinese culture of valuing exam results prevails, and the results are the main factors for form 6 and post secondary admission:

> Since a university degree is an important gateway to better employment here, the two public examinations, namely the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE, taken at the end of Secondary 5) and the

> Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE, taken 2 years later at the end of Secondary 7) are high-stakes and have an important influence on post-compulsory education (from Secondary 4 to Secondary 7) in Hong Kong. (Choi, p. 1)

Choi admitted, as did Morris (1997), that the two exams are vital for academic progress, namely entrance into universities that lead to top careers, and that teachers teach to the test. MacLennan (1995) argued that teachers know that getting students through exams is society's agenda. Although the HKEA, which conducts the tests, tries to reduce this backwash effect, Choi is still not convincing in the arguments that exams do not drive the system. Morris (1997) explained that access to schooling is reliant on a pupil's exam performance, as are a school's status. Only top ranking students reach form 6, and students then make it to schools that are ranked, with English instruction schools being higher up the file.

However, there are signs of change in this structure, a change welcomed by many in Hong Kong (Murad, 2002). One of the reforms highlighted by the new, post-1997 administration, is the linking of primary and secondary schools with similar pedagogical models and curricula structures, in a program termed the 'through-train school,' as an attempt to lesson the influence of exams. In this model, all students from the linked primary school are directly promoted to the secondary school, bypassing the necessity of standardized tests.

It is impressive that Hong Kong students rank at the top in the world in mathematics, languages, and science, but this comes at the price of humanities, such as social studies, as well as cultural subjects such as art. This ranking appears because the latter categories have no viable economic value. The influence of the philosophy of Confucius is mentioned in the literature. But, as Fok (2001) pointed out, the Confucian curriculum was well rounded, but now the market dominates. The 1990s was a precarious time for education policy but ideas were not fully implemented. Fok suggested the need for more reforms, some of which sound like the rationale behind TOC. Yet many in Hong Kong have expressed reservations about the pace of reform and see difficulties in rapid change, particularly fearing a trade off between equality and quality (Murad, 2002). In some sense, Hong Kong's policies seem disjointed and capitalist like the economy. The colonial administration was not heavy handed in implementing reforms, though there are signs that the new administration is more decisive, such as bringing in civics and Mandarin as a way to strengthen Chinese nationalism by raising awareness of Chinese history and culture. For the short term-future, radical change in education is not apparent.

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Curriculum History Review Chapter 4

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical overview of the curriculum discipline. There are two reasons why such an overview is fundamental to an appreciation of the state of the curriculum field today. First, an overview helps understand and elucidate the main themes that have been generated in curriculum studies so as to set the foundation for examination of a set of curricula. Second, it allows some recognition of the critiques that have been levelled at curriculum studies that the field is ahistorical, minimizing dialogue (see for example Kliebard, 1970/2000a).

Curriculum studies, as a professional field, has only been around since 1828 when the *Yale Report* was published (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). Others peg the beginnings of curriculum as a specialization as of 1918 with the publication of Franklin Bobbitt's *The Curriculum* and Clarence Kingsley's *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (Kliebard, 1970/2000a). However, the start date of the field is a moot point. What is important is that the field arose subsequent to mass public education, so the two developments influenced each other.

It is also crucial to examine curriculum history so as to avoid educational myths that support ideological causes and to promote generational dialogue between curriculum specialists (Kliebard, 1970/2000a). However, although the field of curriculum studies is generally recognized to be less than two centuries old, philosophers such as Plato (427-347 BCE) had written about curricula, or what should be taught to young people. The caveat is that curriculum thought is not a post 19th century invention.

For all the historical arguments, the focus of this chapter is limited to a study of the 20th century. This time period, my reading suggests, captures the dynamic activity in the field and through the extension of those who have written about curriculum would naturally capture previous curriculum thought. Structurally, the chapter is broken into the three broad categories of Pinar et al. (1995): the traditionalists, the conceptual-empiricists, and the reconceptualists. After definitions of curriculum, the writings of influential theorists in the field will be summarized, and discussions will follow.

Defining Curriculum

The Meaning of Curriculum

Curriculum, in its complex form is elusive to define. The general meaning of curriculum is derived from the Latin word *curriculum*, which means "running course, race, race-course, orbit, race-chariot, career, course, race-ground" (Feyerabend, 1955, p. 95) and, in a sense, a curriculum is likened to a running race, with subjects or obstacles to overcome if one is to pass and accomplish set credentials (Eisner, 1985; Marsh & Willis, 1995; Zais, 1976). Franklin Bobbitt defined curriculum, with the assumption that students must do and experience curriculum to gain adult competencies, as:

> the entire range of experiences, both undirected and directed, concerned in unfolding the abilities of the individual; or 2) it is the series of consciously directed training experiences that the schools use for completing and perfecting the unfoldment. Our profession uses the term in the latter sense. (1972, p. 43; quoted in Jackson, 1992a, p.7)

Robert S. Zais (1976) wrote that the term curriculum has been hard to characterize and has been open to various interpretations and outlooks, while providing his own operational definition. Specialists tended to define it as either a learning plan or a study discipline. Zais argued that curriculum is the "range of subject matters with which it is concerned" and "the procedures of inquiry and practice" (pp. 3-4). To differentiate between a curriculum and subjects in a particular school, the term "program of studies" is used (p.7). Zais found it problematic to use simplistic curriculum definitions, which simply mean a program of study or course and subject content, but saw the need to include learning experiences.

Curriculum has gradually come to be seen as a field that addresses specific educational problems. However, there is a lack of consensus amongst specialists as to what exactly these educational problems are. Zais (1976) accepted that curriculum involves various stages, including those who move beyond mere learning outcomes and requires interpretation by the teacher, allowing for the experiences of both teachers and students. He distinguished between the written curriculum, the plans that teachers follow for their students' education, and the functional curriculum or instruction, that which actually takes place in the classroom.

For Zais (1976), curriculum needed a broader base than the narrow definition ascribed to by Mauritz Johnson and the conceptual-empiricists, which removed learning experiences from the equation, thus removing implementation and outcome liability for planners and relating curriculum to a purely theoretical and scientific paradigm (Johnson, 1967). However, Zais' curricular conception does require a clear and consistent definition in order for the field to be a valid academic subject. From a critical perspective, who holds power in the planning and instruction? With increasing decision making from both teachers and students regarding "interpretation" of curriculum making, the distinction between the two decreases, democratizing the process (Servage, 2004). Nevertheless, in the end, although adding to Tyler's work, Zais remained bound by the linear nature of Tyler's traditional thinking combined with a positivistic, scientific mode (Jacknicke, 2004).

The hidden curriculum.

The hidden or null (nonexistent) curriculum has been of increasing interest to curriculum theorists since the 1970s. Zais (1976) noted that some who take a wider view of curriculum include the "invisible curriculum" or the "hidden curriculum," which are "unplanned" or "unintended". Eisner (1985) reasoned that it is important to analyse not only the explicit (government or other policy makers' programs of studies or courses with goals and objectives) and implicit (impartation of cultural values such as compliance or competition) curricula, if we are to consider the effects of those curricula and their role in creating these results, but also "what schools do *not teach*" — the null curriculum (p. 97).

To Eisner (1985), such attention was imperative since "ignorance is not simply a neutral void" but creates an analytical backdrop for informed decisions (p. 97). Critical theorists Apple and King (1977) observed the real meaning behind the hidden curriculum for "the tacit teaching of social and economic norms and expectations to students in schools, is not hidden." They took the definition a step further and analysed societal reasons for including a hidden or null curriculum as a means to promulgate the *status quo* and maintain a vested capitalistic, unequal, social order that schools and their personnel partake of while teaching students social norms and expectations that they will be expected to conform to.

These ideas are linked to social reproduction theories, which assume that social classes are replicated within the gates of the schools system, but were questioned due to the lack of agency. One group, *correspondence theorists* such as Bowles and Gintis (1976), see a replication of the social classes through schooling, so that working class children, by the forms of education they receive, remain in the class of their parents. The other group, *conflict* or *resistance theorists* such as Giroux (1983) and Willis (1977) examine the impact of culture and society in learning and emphasise critical awareness and inquiry so as to break the socio-political and economic bonds that shackle society (McLaren, 1989).

Curriculum perspectives and orientations.

Ted T. Aoki (1984) urged the inadequacies of an objective centred and linear step-by-step "ends-means" or scientific approach to curriculum and upheld curriculum as relational experience, with different perspectives and orientations possible amongst socially differentiated actors by using phenomenology, following in Dwayne E. Huebner's steps, as did Max van Manen (Pinar et al., 1995). Aoki (1984) called for a lived curriculum, a subjective and a multi-dimensional approach basing his "man-world relationship" framework on Jürgen Habermas' tri-paradigmatic orientations. Aoki wrote that: "Man's [*sic*] relation to the world is manifold, and man [*sic*] relates to this world through varied activities" (p. 9). These curriculum inquiry orientations are: empirical-analytic orientation or inquiry orientation (science and technical); situational-interpretive orientation (phenomenological description); and critical theoretic orientation (critical understanding of motivation, thinking, and values behind action).

Similarly, Pamela Bolotin Joseph (2000) objected to the simplification of curriculum to matters of content and delivery without providing for an understanding of the critical nature of the discipline, believing that a procedural reading of curriculum had come to dominate the field, with an emphasis on programs and efficiency. Such a narrow aspect leads to simplistic assessments and reduces curriculum to the basics of techniques and methods, excluding teachers from substantive contributions and preventing real reflection on the educational role of schools. Curriculum studies should focus on critical inquiry, developing analytical tools that challenge commonly held perceptions of curriculum and the assumptions that underlie them. For Joseph, curriculum encompassed a variety of discourses, perspectives, and orientations that in and of themselves may not provide a full appreciation for the true nature of curriculum at the theoretical and practical planes.

An approach is needed that recognizes curriculum as a living, shared experience, and one that embodies the norms that undergird society as a whole, as well as individual institutions, educators, and learners. Curriculum choices are not developed in a vacuum but are informed by belief systems that influence all those in the curriculum process, from policy makers, teachers, and students to the general public. Moreover, Joseph (2000) distinguished between a scientific and lived curriculum, with the former fitting with the conceptual-empiricist structure of the discipline approach, with a hierarchical curriculum process, and the latter having a more democratic view of curriculum building founded on teacher planning based on students' needs.

Eisner's five curriculum orientations.

How one conceives curriculum studies affects both the definition and the analysis and is value-driven, with Elliot Eisner's (1985) five orientations of the curriculum and schooling providing a valuable framework. Eisner's reasoning behind these conceptual analysis models, acknowledging that they are mixed in educational reality, was not to favour one, but to demonstrate their efficacy in serving as analytical tools in examining school programs and to further discourse in planning. The first orientation of schooling, of primary significance, is the view that the function of both the curriculum and teaching methodologies is to develop cognitive processes with the dual role of assisting students to acquire learning strategies in conjunction with providing learning environments to grow intellectually. Under this orientation, the curriculum is problem-centered, with teachers providing guidance to children's topics of interest in the form of problems.

The second orientation, which is fundamental and historically based, is academic rationalism (Eisner, 1985). For its proponents, the purpose of schools is to develop the intellect in what are seen as worthwhile subjects as opposed to options. A liberal education, for the purposes of developing reason, falls under this conception, which reflects the pervasive nature of academic rationalism, grounded in Western intellectual thought (Vallance, 1986).

Eisner's (1985) third orientation of curriculum is personal relevance or meaning, whereby the schools' task is to design programs based on students' goals in order to enable internalized learning. Teachers view children as individuals and their role is one of facilitator or guide of learning, analogous to a travel agent. This approach is child-centred falling in the realm of the progressive approach. According to Vallance (1986), the self-actualizing perspective is falling out of the public discourse while the utilitarian outlook of schooling has gained ascendancy.

The fourth orientation consists of social adaptation and social reconstruction, with both formulating curricula based on the aims of society (Eisner, 1985). Social adaptation entails the task of schooling to meet the needs of society, be these needs economic, such as career education, training students in shortage areas such as mathematics, science or computers, or be it to remedy critical problems in society, such as black studies or Native American programs. Meanwhile, social reconstructionists attempt to develop students' critical consciousness to enable them to overcome societal pitfalls. In practice, as an example, controversial topics would be debated in social studies.

The fifth orientation is curriculum as technology (Eisner, 1985). Being a normative conception, curriculum planning is perceived as a technical endeavour, after the ends have been formed, it is a means-ends approach. The ends are not questioned, but the problem becomes the operationalization of objectives that are checked through observable behaviour. Ralph Tyler, John Dewey, Hilda Taba, Benjamin Bloom, and Franklin Bobbitt used this model of curriculum planning. Standards are seen as important, with quality control as vital. Due to the preponderance of computers, Vallance (1986) noted an increase in the technological orientation of curriculum as a means and as a skill.

New conceptions of curriculum.

Elizabeth Vallance (1986), former co-author with Eisner, added two new conceptions to update their 1973 article *Conflicting Conceptions of Curriculum*. Noticing curriculum trends, she added the newer vision of "*personal success* as the goal of education" (p. 27), Vallance argued that this conception has affected curriculum design, and course choice, and has been proven in the concern for job-placement and averages. Vallance added a further new conception "which sees the purpose of schooling as creating a *personal commitment to learning*" (1986, p. 27). This is most evident when education is pursued for its own sake, but may result in the same outcomes as a curriculum for individual efficacy. This category includes the academic, rational, and self-actualising orientations.

In examining the writings of Vallance and Eisner, Joseph (2000) delineated her own conception of six curriculum cultures, revising the orientations developed by Eisner and Vallance. This concept holds that although there are different orientations towards curriculum, they share similar beliefs towards pedagogical practice and subject content. The first, training for work and survival, concentrates on teaching basic life skills, preparing learners for entrance into society and the labour market and includes elements of the personal success orientation. The second, connecting to the canon, identifies with the academic orientation, and seeks to develop the fundamental values underlying the dominant culture. Third is developing self and spirit, which sees its purpose as fostering the student's inner being by developing the power of imagination and self-knowledge (a correlate of the idea of self-actualisation).

Similarly, the culture of constructing understanding implies the development of critical thinking skills. Social awareness is the goal of the culture Joseph (2000) labels deliberating democracy, the preparation of students to be fully active participants in a democratic system. Last, confronting the dominant order, an idea dear to many in the reconceptualists camp, is intended to nurture socially active students, willing and able to confront the problems of society. Fundamental to all these cultures is that they reflect the values and norms that lie beneath all of society.

These conceptions reveal that, when arguing in favour of any curriculum plan, there is inherent value in all the concepts, with each orientation or culture calling for different approaches. For example, traditional curriculum planners would favour Eisner's curriculum as technology conception and not examine the problems inherent with the goals of education. Instead, they would merely focus on the steps in achieving them. On the other hand, critical theorists, with a social reconstructionist approach, would place most of their energies in debating just that. Based upon these orientations, it is evident that the frameworks, the worldview, and language and approach are diverse and do not necessarily compare the same problems.

Furthermore, Eisner and Vallance (1994) succinctly summarize the conflicting situations:

> Controversy in educational discourse most often reflects a basic conflict in priorities concerning the form and content of curriculum and the goals toward which schools should strive; the intensity of the conflict and the apparent difficulty in resolving it can most often be traced to a failure to recognize conflicting conceptions of curriculum. (p. 2)

Curriculum goes beyond a program of study or course content to include learning experiences and encompassing philosophical, literary, aesthetic, political, cultural, historical, gender, theological, and sociological questions with various interpretations and ideologies. This broad definition of curriculum would hold true for the positivistic scientific paradigm, the hermeneutic, the structural-functional, conflict Marxist, or critical theory viewpoint. Although at the onset the definition of the curriculum field was narrow, over the course of the 20th century the definition and the field has broadened to examine the undergirding relations within society and globally, so as to analyze and critique either current curricula or the educational, social, and economic systems in use.

The Traditionalists

The early years of curriculum studies.

It is generally acknowledged that curriculum specialization originated in the United States through the work of a few individual theorists (although this viewpoint may have differed if this study was conducted in another language). Franklin Bobbitt, Henry Harap, W. W. Charters, John Dewey, and Edward L. Thorndike were influential in this respect, and the first three are considered to be fathers of the traditional school. Their ideology was based on the business industrial organization production model of Frederick W. Taylor's "scientific management" as applied to schools and curricula, with the aim of maximum efficiency and utilitarianism (Eisner, 1985; Kliebard, 1970/2000a). Bobbitt, an instructor in Educational Administration, University of Chicago, wrote a paper entitled, "Some General Principles of Management Applied to the Problems of City-School Systems" (1913/1923). His thesis was:

> At a time when so much discussion is being given to the possibilities of "scientific management" in the world of material production, it seems desirable that the principles of this more effective form of management be examined in order to

> ascertain the possibility of applying them to the problems of educational management and supervision. (p. 7)

Furthermore, he explained that sound management principles had been formulated by the business and industrial world, which could be applied to the backwards and relatively new field of education. Under this technological scientific framework, the learning process was considered as a mere building of units of production (units of behaviour), as an input-output factory process (Eisner, 1985). Bobbitt's philosophy maintained that education was the preparation of youth for adult life, and that this goal would be attained through objectives that would be derived from the gender specific training of men and women based on human experience and centred on activities and abilities (Bobbitt, 1913/1923). The educational process would be broken down based on the definitions of their actions, so that education became a series of specific activities, from big to smaller units. His curriculum planning was based on scientific research and practicality.

Similarly, W. W. Charters identified the goals and content and analyzed tasks scientifically with an assembly line analogy (Eisner, 1985). Henry Harap used the scientific-technological view with aims, objectives, activities, subject area consultation, activity analysis, and social need analysis, with activities designed to achieve objectives (Eisner). Edward L. Thorndike applied the scientific method to education and affected educational psychology and textbooks (Eisner). John Dewey also applied the scientific method to education, but he was child-centred and progressive (Eisner).

The Tyler Rationale.

Ralph W. Tyler shared in this scientific mode of thinking and was influenced by his direct forbears, such as Bobbitt and Harap. The former stressed objectives, and utilized John Dewey's concept of highlighting experience as pivotal in curriculum planning (Eisner, 1985). Tyler shared Dewey's progressive, child-centred, inquiry-based learning and democratic vision of education. Pinar et al. (1995) cited Charles W. Judd and, primarily, W.W. Charters as his mentors. Tyler mentioned that his work was based on post-secondary and school-based projects, namely the Eight Year Study and the Neighborhood Education Center (1975). The Tyler *Rationale,* based on *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction,* became the most influential work in the field. Pinar et al. (1995) argued that he was unopposed for 20 years, while Marsh and Willis (1995) commented that his book was viewed as displaying common sense and clear thinking, and continues to be influential worldwide in curriculum planning. Philip W. Jackson (1992) termed the book "the Bible of curriculum making" (p. 24).

Despite reconceptualization of the field, some curricular theorists still abide by this *Rationale*. Walker and Soltis (2004) noted that other models have not seriously challenged its dominance. A cursory glance at programs of studies in Canada and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), for example, shows Tylerean logic with objectives that have suggested learning activities and assessment. Tyler set out four questions, which he attempted to set as a guide for curriculum planning, with the note that this was not meant to be theory, for it was "a practical enterprise" (1975, p. 18). These steps are (Tyler, 1949, p. 1):

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?

Tyler's book elaborated on these four questions with corresponding chapters. He wrote in a matter-of-fact fashion, mentioning sociology and philosophy, but relying heavily on psychology, even though he stressed that there is no one basis of information for leading to decisions regarding school objectives (p. 5). The main source of objectives would be gained from studies of students, studies of modern life, and from subject specialists. Tyler discussed the functional liberal view of sociology. He noted that numerous sociologists look at society for information for the purpose of formulating objectives, for they see school as "the agency" for empowering youth to deal with problems (p. 5). By writing this, he appeared to imply that conflict or class issues did not come into play, for the solution was for students to acquire a set of "knowledge, skills, attitudes, and the like" as outlined in objectives based on sociologists findings of contemporary problems. He referred to psychologists such as Prescott and Murray (p. 6) and Thorndike (p. 42).

Prescott was a developmental psychologist (Wikipedia, n.d.) while Murray discussed motivation and the needs that shape and drive behaviour and personality (Neill, 2004). Edward Thorndike used psychological behaviorism, a program that "purports to explain human and animal behavior in terms of external physical stimuli, responses, learning histories, and … reinforcements" (Behaviourism, 2005, para. 5). Tyler promoted behavioural objectives and an objective led curriculum development.

Throughout the book, references were made to altering students' behaviour based on the pre-set objectives, with the behaviour indicating success at meeting those objectives being determined in the process of evaluation. Tyler (1949) set out screens for deriving objectives, which were "educational ends" (p. 37) so as to prioritize and standardize them. They were the schools' "educational and social philosophy" (pp. 35-36) and psychology of learning. Hence his thinking became knows as having an ends-means focus.

Critiques were levelled at Tyler for being linear, scientific, procedural, and bureaucratic, with much debate held on the merits of *The Rationale*. Tyler was assailed by Kliebard (1970/2000b), who expressed concerns about what he viewed as an overly structured, functional approach to curriculum. His major reservations applied to Tylerian objectives and their sources, arguing that Tyler failed to comprehend that selecting objectives is potentially laden with difficulties of interpretation, prioritisation, and professional and philosophical rivalries.

Kliebard's analysis (1970/2000b) raises valid questions. Who is responsible for deciding objectives and why are some objectives selected instead of others? Are educational activities whose objectives are not met invalidated? Is an objective-centred curriculum the best way to organize and develop knowledge? However, his overall simplification of the model was itself open to criticism and was critiqued by Hlebowitsh who, in 1992, sought to provide a balanced defence of Tyler.

Hlebowitsh (1992) objected to what he saw as a distortion of *Tyler's Rationale* by Kliebard. For Hlebowitsh such critics failed to perceive the indebtness of *The Rationale* to progressive-experimentalist thought that focused on problem-solving, societal values, and knowledge. Hlebowitsh countered that Kliebard was mistaken in thinking that Tyler advocated narrow objectives, for objectives were meant to have high generalizability. Further, Tyler went beyond using knowledge, skills, and habits in objective formation, but considered "general modes of conduct" (p. 91) such as cognition, emotion, and behaving, and considered appreciation as vital for objectives formation.

While allowing for Dewey's behaviouralist influences on Tyler in terms of the association between objectives and experiences and behaviours, Hlebowitsh (1992) claimed that Tyler was realistic and flexible in his *Rationale* and had developed a problem-focused framework that allowed for the incorporation of knowledge and the artistry of the classroom, which ran counter to the scientific and rationalists curricular paradigms and differed from Bobbitt's reasoning. Rather, Tyler considered the learner, society, and subject–matter in curriculum formation. Hlebowitsh wrote to Tyler about the criticisms, to which Tyler replied that "he would not respond to criticism that failed to provide its own alternative procedure to curriculum development" (Hlebowitsh, 1995, p. 89), for his reason was to guide schools. To Hlebowitsh, Tyler's *Rationale* was legitimate, for it was grounded in practical studies and was flexible.

This pro-Tylerean rebuke led to Kliebard returning to the fray with a further refutation of Tyler's model, once again focusing on its perceived rigidity and dependence on determinant objectives (1995). Kliebard maintained that the primacy of objectives in curriculum was entirely due to Tyler's influence and that the very nature of these objectives enforced a linear sequence of steps that had become a straightjacket imposed on the entire curriculum framework and lacked educational and classroom practicality. For Kliebard, echoing Dewey, educational activities could be freed from the dominance of Tylerean objectives and become liberated by allowing for different views and reflective practices. This sequence of arguments demonstrates the strife that surrounds curriculum studies and serves to underline the continued importance and longevity of Tyler's model.

Pinar et al. (1995) explained that Tyler's work stemmed from administrative and managerial foundations: "Structurally, the rationale is a linear, administrative procedure for curriculum development" (p. 148). Although the plan is linear, for objectives must be outlined as they help in choosing learning experiences and lead teaching (p. 44) and evaluation is dependent on those objectives (pp. 105-106), the plan is flexible once it has run its course from stages two to four. The input process is not linear, for Tyler wrote that there are various ways to find educational objectives. He also noted that it is important to consider student interests, which can be discovered through various means: teacher observations, student and parent interviews, questionnaires, tests, records, and canvassing. He advised that the curriculum worker study the community. The plan is flexible once it is conducted, for Tyler wrote that evaluation is a tool for fine-tuning the educational objectives if necessary, based on behavioural changes. There is a constant need for upgrading, making the curriculum planning process cyclical. To quote Tyler (1949), so as not to misrepresent him:

> What is implied in all of this is that curriculum planning is a continuous process and that as materials and procedures are developed, they are tried out, their results appraised, their inadequacies identified, suggested improvements indicated; there is replanning, redevelopment and then reappraisal; and in this kind of continuing cycle, it is possible for the curriculum and instructional program to be continuously improved over the years. In this way we may hope to have an increasingly more effective educational program rather than depending so much upon hit and miss judgment as a basis for curriculum development. (p. 123)

Hilda Taba modified Tyler's method as she viewed curriculum planning as somewhat circular, with purposes and goals arising "during the process," similar to Dewey's ideas of purposes coming out of teaching, with the evaluation being more "formative" than "summative" (Pinar et al., 1995, p. 175). Critiques were levelled at traditional texts; for example, they made little mention of Asia, Africa, global issues (Rogan & Luckowski, 1993, as cited in Pinar et al., 1995) or multiculturalism (Castenell & Pinar, 1993, as cited in Pinar et al., 1995).

The Conceptual-Empiricists

The structure of the discipline movement came to the fore in 1959 after the Woods Hole Conference, which was attended by mathematicians, scientists, and psychological specialists. Eventually, the conceptual-empiricist camp replaced traditionalists (Giroux, Penna & Pinar, 1981; Pinar et al., 1995), and continued to dominate into the1960s, using the scientific and mathematical paradigm. This was after the launching of *Sputnik* (1957), during the Cold War, when America felt threatened by apparent rival technological supremacy and school curricula faced a backlash for the uncompetitive state of affairs, with lobbying for the structure of content (Giroux et al., 1981; Pinar et al., 1995).

David H. Hampson (1975) took a slightly different view, noting that *Sputnik* influenced educational reform, but that curriculum change started before 1957, documented by John I. Goodlad as well as Arnold B. Grobman, as curriculum projects were funded publicly and privately in the late 1950s and early 1960s. After the passing of the National Defence Act (1958), American government agencies bypassed curriculum specialists in favour of the home faculties, with the physical sciences and mathematics gaining the lion's share of funding, to support the military industrial complex, with foreign languages also benefiting (Pinar et al., 1995).

At this time, the curriculum field faced prospects of re-invention or peril as the traditional curriculum influence waned. As Schwab (1978) explained, "The field of curriculum is moribund" due to its inability to advance education any further, it has over-depended on theory, which are lacking, and he proposed a solution for curriculum specialists to operate in the modes of "the practical, the quasi-practical, and the eclectic" (p. 288). Such pronouncements and the sidestepping by the American government towards curriculum research meant the decline of the traditionalists. Schwab's influential essay '*The concept and the structure of a discipline*' (1962) argued for curriculum building based, in particular, on the structure of the sciences and their theories. Schwab called this "deep knowledge," as they were built on truth.

Pinar et al. (1995) categorized the conceptualist-empiricist movement. This group consisted of positivist scientific thinkers who were professional educators in their field, and the movement was pro-discipline. Professional educators and students were not consulted in curriculum shaping, imposing a structure on students and teachers. It was the disciplines themselves -- the subject matter and their underlying structures and methods of inquiry, mediated through the subject experts – that would determine the shape of curricula (Hampson, 1975). The pendulum had swung away from progressive education in the pre-World War II era, to social efficiency in the form of "life adjustment education" as characterized by the Tyler *Rationale* in the aftermath of World War II, to a subject-centred education in the latter part of 1950s and 1960s, and then to Reconceptualization in the 1970s (Pinar et al, 1995, pp. 151-179).

There were parallels in the 1990s, in terms of the same arguments seen in the late 1950s. In the 1990s, US schools were blamed, not for the Cold War, but the economic state of affairs, the trade imbalance with Japan; the Japanese with their longer school year became a focus of analysis (Pinar et. al., 1995). Increasingly since the 1990s, although not directed from curriculum or subject specialists, governments and industry still fight for the instalment of applied and pure scientific and mathematical discipline structures in the minds of youth. For example, in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) Arthur K.C. Li, Secretary for Education and Manpower, proudly spoke at the ICET World Assembly, 2004 that HKSAR students came at the top in world rankings in science and mathematics. Global competitiveness is in the minds of policy makers around the world.

Besides Schwab, other notable conceptual-empiricists shared a discipline-led view of curriculum. Jerome Bruner's *The Process of Education* "outlined a curriculum theory based on the notion of disciplinary structure" (Pinar et al., 1995, p. 159). He elaborated that each discipline had a structure that could be disseminated to students, a concept resembling Johann F. Herbart's 19th century ideas (Pinar et al., 1995). George Beauchamp, in his 1971 paper *Basic Components of Curriculum Theory*, explicated the necessity for curriculum studies to develop rigorous theoretical foundations. In his consideration, curriculum had failed to follow the basic steps of theory building as developed in the social sciences: creation of a technical terminology, the classification of the key phenomenon within the field, and the identification of the relationships between these phenomena.

The absence of a proper definition of curriculum demonstrated the lack of this theoretical basis. In particular, Beauchamp rejected progressivist thought that saw curriculum as educational experiences, seeing it as obscuring the divide between a strict theory of curriculum, which had the hallmarks of observable, measurable, and definable certainty, and the untidy concept of educational instruction. As in Schwab, curriculum was to become the purview of the specialist, schooled in the notions of scientific theory, and divorced from what actually occurred in the classroom and the involvement of the teaching profession.

Mauritz Johnson (1967) stressed the differentiation between curriculum theory and program development. Curriculum, as a pure theoretical concept, needed to concern itself only with what should be learned, the intent behind education, and not with the practicalities of learning Thus, Johnson rejected the notion of curriculum as relating to educational activities and formulated the conception of curriculum as a "structured series of intended learning outcomes" (p. 130). In such a line of thought, learning becomes limited to what is "teachable and available" (p. 132) and is bound by what can be identified as relevant and within the recognized fields of study, as defined by curriculum specialists. This broke with the behaviourist school of curriculum thought in that Johnson sought to eliminate from curriculum theory the unquantifiable behavioural attributes of the human factor, represented by teachers and students, and restrict and reduce it to the observable and replicable. The end result is a curriculum that, as for Schwab (1962) and Beauchamp (1971), is based on the rationalist thought of the curriculum specialist.

The Reconceptualists

The reconceptualists and new methodologies.

Pinar et al. (1995) called the other group reconceptualists, as they challenged traditional curriculum theorists and were influenced by post-modernism. Unlike the earlier groups, they sought to understand curriculum from a theoretical, research-based, and historically oriented basis, as opposed to the practical development and management of educational processes. Discontent with the Tyler *Rationale*, the use of other traditions such as psychoanalytic theory, phenomenology, existentialism, hermeneutics, literary criticism, as well as predominantly leftist Marxist and neo-Marxist thought, with focus on inequalities, peace, etcetera characterized reconceptualists (Jackson, 1992).

For practitioners, the Tyler influence is still evident (Pinar, as cited in Jackson, 1992) as curriculum development is no longer the mantle of curriculum specialists, but of subject specialists (Jackson). With reconceptualized curriculum, understanding is of interest (Pinar et al., 1995). In the curriculum field, the end of the traditional paradigm occurred with reconceptualization and with it the questioning of the place of theory in the field (Pinar et al.). Not only did the reconceptualists differ from the traditionalists, with their concern with "behavioural objectives, planning, and evaluation" but:

> The term *Reconceptualists* described individuals whose scholarship challenged this tradition-that is, suggested that the function of curriculum studies was not the development and management but the scholarly and disciplined understanding of educational experience, particularly in its political, cultural, gender, and historical dimensions. During the past two decades the field of curriculum has been reconceptualized from an exclusively practice-oriented field to a more theoretical, historical, research-oriented field. (Pinar, 1988, p. 484)

Maxine Greene (1971), influenced by existentialism and phenomenology, analysed curriculum through literary criticism, espousing a view that centred on the necessity of consciousness in learning as opposed to the mere habitual. Humanities, especially literature, could help students overcome meaninglessness brought on by the primacy of science at expense of religion (Pinar et al., 1995). She argued that curriculum should develop a propensity of thought below the surface and raise self-consciousness, internalization of knowledge, and encourage questioning and the linking of themes and disciplines (Greene, 1971). Furthermore, students need to understand their roots and underlying self-concepts and make a connection between what was previously known and new learning through reflection in order to add meaning. To Greene, this required a conscious process based on rationality and developing networks of relationships.

Dwayne Huebner, an intellectual founder of reconceptualization in the 1970s, wrote of moving beyond scientific and empirical language (Pinar et al, 1995). Huebner argued (2000) that curriculum is often incoherent and lacks precision. Scientific curriculum theories had not advanced the field and created an artificial breach between theory and practice. For Huebner, curriculum involved the interaction of three elements: research, practice, and language. However, language must be seen as contextualized within time, place, and culture, and open to interpretation. Miscommunication can become evident as a mismatch between intentions and functions, especially as the curriculum field had borrowed heavily from a wide array of academic disciplines.

Curriculum research must be language oriented, developing and critiquing language while giving sense and structure to the collected information. Practice needs also to be viewed as contextual in time and place, with an understanding of the human elements (such as history and politics) that influence it. Huebner (1966) maintained that because language is not fixed, approaches to curriculum that impose a set language of means and outcomes (i.e. the Tyler *Rationale*) are flawed in their perspectives. Educational realities should be assessed (e.g. classroom activities) and only subsequently should a curricular language be adopted that meets this reality. In doing so, curriculum language escapes the tyranny of a rigid utilitarian dominance and becomes imbued with an aesthetic search for personal truth focused on the individual and their interaction with the world.

In addition, Huebner argued for using political science and wrote of democratic causes, power, and control, with calls for justice (Pinar et al., 1995) and used all the main disciplines for analysing curriculum studies (such as language analysis, existentialism, phenomenology (Pinar et al.). Michael W. Apple was Huebner's student. Apple pursued his political analysis lead (Pinar et al.) and sought to "*understand curriculum as political text,*" as did Henry A. Giroux (Pinar et al., p. 44).

James B. Macdonald, another influential reconceptualist, divided curriculum studies into three camps (as cited in Pinar et al., 1995, p. 216). Group one saw "theory as a guiding framework for applied curriculum development and research as a tool for evaluation of curriculum development." The second group was newer and, with less members, "committed to a more conventional concept of scientific theory" where research is used for empirical ratification of "curriculum variables and relationships." The third group viewed "theorizing as a creative intellectual task which they maintain should be used neither used as a basis for prescription or as an empirically testable set of principles and relationships." As Pinar et al. (1995) observed the latter group dominated through the decade of reconceptualization.

Macdonald (1971/2000) conceived of the curriculum as operating within the framework of two levels of decision making, both of which reflect fundamental values. First is the structural level, which Macdonald saw as incorporating the basic tenets of faith that underlie educational norms and beliefs and which provide direction for education. The second level, termed rational values, details these fundamental values at the plane of curriculum design, thus demonstrating the application of the essential structural principles. Within this framework operate three perspectives as outlined by Macdonald: the technical, interpretive, and emancipatory, each reflecting a set of basic underpinning beliefs about education and the world and each calling for its own curriculum design. Thus, the technical reflects the scientific, empirical, expert, designed curriculum approach of the structural empiricists. The interpretative perspective seeks consensus and follows the ends-means methodology of Tyler, while the emancipatory breaks with previous curriculum theory in seeing curriculum as a means of raising self-consciousness amongst individuals and as a liberating force through individually centred, reflective practice and dialogue.

Essentially, Macdonald (1971/2000) doubted the possibility of a neutral curriculum, instead arguing for the pervasiveness of fundamental values in all aspects of curriculum at the theoretical and applied stages. This emphasis on values and beliefs as the foundation of curriculum became a major force within the reconceptualist movement and would prove influential in elucidating a view of curriculum that sought the purpose of curriculum in the transformation of society through critical awareness, empowerment, and self-knowledge.

The reconceptualists later viewed curriculum and school affairs as being in a state of conflict as opposed to earlier proponents of structural functionalism, which entailed the view of consensus in society, with the different parts contributing to society in equilibrium, in interdependence, and harmony, with orderly evolutionary processes (Gingrich, 1999). Conflict theories were a reaction to this consensual view of society.

Critical pedagogy and neo-Marxism.

A prime example of such thought is Michael Apple (1971) who argued against the notion of consensus in the science and social studies curricula and placed a premium on embracing conflict theory, allowing for reflection amongst students, leading to a search for higher truth and critical investigation into the underlying social and economic realties. To Apple, such a method demonstrated the true, dialectical nature of the inquiry process, in the sciences and in all facets of human endeavour, which thrives on the point and counterpoint of conflicting theories and concepts. Rather than stipulating an objective truth imposed on students, it brings to the fore the necessity of conflict as an educational process, allowing for different viewpoints that ultimately lead to the discovery and self-discovery of higher truths that are the hallmark of real human progress. Conflict theory is not seen as a negative, destructive formulation, but as a positive force, promoting self-cognisant and critically aware students who have the intellectual means, resources, and confidence to create and develop true social and scientific progress.

A curriculum that embraces conflict theory, rather than positing a passive worldview amongst students, who simply imbue the norms of a dominant society, allows them to become critical thinkers, empowering them with the knowledge that they can change society and the world for the better. This view of conflict is an analytical tool for curriculum theorists and education theorists as a whole, presenting an opportunity for greater dialogue and understanding of both the nature of inquiry and the realities of the world and the structures that underlay it.

Belatedly, amongst the reconceptualists, one important frame of thought has been a critical pedagogic, neo-Marxian, analysis of the undergirding structures of the curriculum process, involving political curriculum analysis. Apple, a critical theorist and Marxist (Pinar, 1988), was influenced by the Frankfurt school, which viewed society as being asymmetrical and under the hegemony of power groups based on wealth, race, and gender (Grace, 2004, in press), and used culture generally, not only material productions and the economy, to analyse society (Pinar et al., 1995). Apple and King (1980) posited a Marxist determinism to kindergarten, seeing the role of even this educational stage as one that imposed class structure and consensus upon students through instructional methodologies and materials that created an obligatory and overarching consensus and acquiescence to the existing social conditions. One can implicitly read in this Marxian analysis a critique of the empirical conceptualists, who placed curriculum in the hands of specialists (Schwab, 1962) and of Tyler, (1949) whose objectives could be viewed as replicating the goals of society's controlling interests.

Apple postulated the importance of understanding the societal norms that lie behind educational activities and denounced the underlying cultural transmission of the hegemonic groups in society. In his 1990 article *The Text and Cultural Politics*, Apple regarded textbooks as being an instrument for the promulgation of legitimated knowledge within society, the beliefs and values of the dominant cultural group, as opposed to neutral sources of knowledge. The New Right, by attempting to enforce a centralized, regimentalized curriculum, has sought to perpetuate the cultural domination of a pro-capitalist, pro-Western, neo-liberal, tradition that has allowed the exploitation of the curriculum by multinational corporations with a globalization agenda. In opposition, Apple responded with a call for a new framework for curriculum that promoted a non-Western, non-capitalist, and non-gender biased democratized education that sought a diversity of curricula and opened the way for multiple readings that break the knowledge monopoly of entrenched interests and empowers and respects all individuals. Less radically, Smith (2003), in describing the effects of globalization on schooling and the influence of the neo-liberal economic system on society and youth, where youth becomes an inconvenience for adults, called for humanistic solutions that promote social and cultural harmony.

The theories and writings of Paulo Freire have been highly influential for reconceptualist thought. Like Apple, Freire was concerned with the domination and control of knowledge by deep-seated, privileged, power groups. In his seminal book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970/1989), he wrote about how people can overcome domination of the elite and the core. In dialectical fashion, he drew out the opposing forces in society that have to be reigned in, partly through real education involving reflection, praxis leading to conscientization (consciousness). In his banking concept of education, the teacher pours information into the empty vessel student, who regurgitates it back in robotic fashion. The transmutation of knowledge becomes static, often without relevance to the student's lived experience.

To Friere (1970/1989), such education meets the needs of the oppressor and he called for the individual to be provided with the freedom to create their own understanding. Freire advocated empowerment through knowledge building, critical dialogue, and education and action that was based on a true, reciprocal, partnership between student and teacher. Education was to be an activity that drew on the knowledge of both, with genuine interaction and shared experiences. By focussing on formal education, educators deprived their students of a true learning experience, promoted passive thinking, denied students their individual humanity and contribution to the world, and upheld the *status quo*.

Education's goal to Friere (1970/1989) is seen as ending this stagnation by developing learners with the ability and appetite for critical inquiry and original and diverse thought through a mutuality of learning between educators and students. The hub of such pedagogy is dialogical problem posing, whereby dialoguers actively participate in critical thinking with elements of unity between the environment and individuals. This type of thinking views reality as a transformative and liberating process through action (praxis). Distinguishing humans from animals, Freire (1989) claimed: "Only men [*sic*] *are* praxis--the praxis which, as the reflection and action which truly transform reality, is the source of knowledge and creation. Animal activity, which occurs without a praxis, is not creative; man's transforming activity is" (p. 91). An authentic education is founded upon both parties in the educative act mediating with each other and with the world around them, constructing fresh viewpoints.

Such educative processes emphasize the true humanness of each student and encourage critical thinking (1970/1989). Engaging in such critical reflection and action is at the core of transformative theory, ultimately leading to consciousness raising, or *conscientization*. A Freirean curriculum would not be categorized as transmission of knowledge but as transformative education, related to social-reconstructionism and self-actualization. There would be no depository of information to impart, but the problem-posing process of creating new knowledge.

In writings such as this, the curriculum theorist is asked to consider political questions such as whose knowledge is the student learning and for what societal ends? As Wardekker (2004) wrote, curriculum planning involves cultural politics centred on the issue of whose knowledge is being taught, and is therefore divisive. In this view, schooling seeks to express and perpetuate the values and norms of a middle class, capitalistic, society and continuing societal stratification (McLaren, 1989). McLaren wrote of culture as a field of discourse (Pinar et al., 1995) and noted that curriculum "assumes that the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions are the primary categories for understanding contemporary schooling" (McLaren 1989, p.185) and propagates, in the form of a concealed curriculum, the patterns of dominance and subordination (p. 183) since "knowledge is socially constructed … the world we live in is constructed symbolically by the mind through social interaction with others and is heavily dependent on culture, context, custom, and historic specificity (p. 169). Education should be seen as a force of domination; however, it also contains the seeds of opposition and liberation.

Henry Giroux articulated a concept of radical pedagogy based on Freire's writing (Pinar et al., 1995) and further elucidated critical curriculum theory, drawing on Hegel's concept of dialectic and conflict theories stemming from Marx, but fine-tuning Marx's ideates (Giroux, 1980). Much like Apple, Giroux denounced the curriculum field for succumbing to conformity, calling for critique, critical discourse, and inquiry. With a worldview of "conflict and contradictions" (p. 8), Giroux presented a dialectical framework to inspect relationships within curriculum theory as well as wider society. This dialectical framework involves both reflective criticism and acknowledgement to uncover inconsistencies and problematic realities. To examine the world critically using the dialectic, to find alienating forces, "Any emancipatory notion of the dialectic has to be grounded in the process of critique and praxis" (p. 10). Praxis is the means by which critical inquiry is transformed into "reflective intervention" (p. 11), binding together oppositional historical and critical societal forces, with collective human agency as a force leading to emancipation and transformation of society. The dialectic is a method of creating critical pedagogy that involves students interpreting their own experiences, using hermeneutics, revealing how the dominant culture affects their views.

Discussion and Summary

In curriculum studies, it is pertinent to go beyond curriculum planning for schools in order to analyze the information contained within the written program of studies to discover what knowledge is considered important, and for what purposes. This questions the tacit assumption that knowledge is neutral, or that there is one "truth" as rationalists claim. A.V. Kelly (2004) outlined the problematic ideas in Western philosophy: absolutist theories, empiricist views, and existentialism with postmodernism. Rationalists (e.g. Plato, Descartes, Kant, and Hegel) viewed true knowledge as emanating from the mind, that knowledge is reified, while the diametrically opposed empiricists, founded by Locke, viewed knowledge as stemming from the mind via the senses. Existentialist thought also opposed rationalism, but valued the individual over the collective. Postmodernism also opposed absolutism and the "incredulity towards meta-narratives" (Lyotard, as cited in Kelly, 2004, p. 35).

Considering this disjuncture of epistemologies, it is of no surprise that curriculum theories have clashed and that postmodernism has left critiques of former theories. With this heritage of multiple conflicting epistemologies, the right view becomes the one the curriculum theorist subscribes to. This is not to say that absolute relativism is the solution, but critiques gain currency if they can holistically replace existing theories and practice; otherwise, they become part of the repertoire of human knowledge from which to consider informed decision.

The intention of questioning curricula is to uncover which sets of knowledge or theories are held as true, and with what hierarchy, so as not to automatically accept the status quo. Which epistemology is favoured? Which cultural group is privileged in being represented and which cultural knowledge is being transmitted? In the social sciences and humanities, which political and economic system is given a favourable opinion? Whose agenda (i.e. society's, government's, a group's, or the student's) is it serving? Once the above questions are critically analyzed, curriculum theorists and planners can either accept the current curricula or transform it for ideological goals, be they for social justice, as Dwayne Huebner illuminated, inspiring other scholars (Pinar et al., 1995), or for democratization (Habermas, Giroux, as cited in A. V. Kelly, 2004).

In conclusion, curriculum studies has a century of history as a discipline and the field has evolved from a traditional linear technical planning operation for schools, to a positivistic conceptual-empiricist position to a critical reconceptualist stance. The technical-rational scientific perspective has dominated over the last century. In the last three decades, new theories have arisen that have broken away from this view. There seems to be a growing dichotomy between theory and practice, as the reconceptualists have moved into theory.

Yet critics remain. For Decker Walker and Jonas Soltis (2004), curriculum theory is of esoteric interest, with a deeply held underlying identity, which, when voiced, is open to question. Their solution is action. Since the 17th century there has been a belief that theory's function is to guide action (L. Nicholas, as cited in Giroux et al., 1981). This belief is critiqued by the reconceptualists (Giroux et al.). However, the two balance each other, providing reciprocity, and continued separation of theory could lead to irrelevance; theory with only theory to support itself and eventual irrelevance in regard to pedagogical application. Although there are differing perspectives and definitions of curriculum it is important to distinguish that curriculum can be viewed in terms of theory and its implications for classroom learning, effects on subject content, and teacher and student interaction.

In this thesis, the author will examine program of studies documents of the HKSAR and analyse them, in light of the above conceptions and questions, as curriculum artefacts that give an insight into the changing nature of curriculum and education in

HKSAR in view of recent political changes. The analytical questions will be whether the pattern of traditional, linear, scientific, or reconceptualist theories are evident in the HKSAR curriculum and whether curricular change is related to political change.

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The Philosophical Underpinning of Social Studies Chapter 5

Defining social studies has been elusive (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Schneider, 1989). The social studies, as a discipline, is a human construct. The lack of a precise definition underlies the complexity of the humanities or the social sciences disciplines that have been created to explain humankind and their societies, past and present.

The debate is as old as recorded history. For example, ancient Greek philosophers such as Plato pondered about 'truth' and 'ideas' while Aristotle examined the laws of human nature, relations, and conduct. Social studies historically started in the United States with meagre beginnings. Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977), on examining textbooks before 1880, noticed that social education was inundated with moral and patriotic values with a focus on myth and religion. They also noted that history became the main vehicle for 'social relationships' before the turn of the century.

History is still the cement of social studies. But, an important question is whose history is taught? Furthermore, if history is not to be the primary discipline in social studies, which of the social sciences or humanities should replace it? Through the years, there have been a myriad of answers to this question. Sometimes even community and life skills are allocated into the realm of the subject.

My general reading, and I will speak more about this later in this chapter, suggests that two different philosophies exist and are reflected in the process versus the content debate that underlies much of curriculum experts' or educators' deliberations. One note of *caveat lector* for setting up a framework to study the Kong Kong social studies related curricula is that a basic "difficulty in studying 'Asian' *citizenship* lies in the Western origin of the concept" (Lee, 2004, p. 278) and literature in the area is predominantly Western (Lee). Furthermore, as Lee warned us, the agendas originate mainly from where the concepts do, making the context differences almost non-existent.

This chapter will examine the philosophical underpinnings of social studies. It will list the various definitions of social studies, outline a brief history of the subject in the United States and Canada, describe a comprehensive set of the social studies conceptions or traditions: *transmission tradition, social studies as social science, progressive tradition, life adjustment, multiculturalism, regional and global education*, and propose a framework to differentiate a program of studies devised either for inculcation or for democracy.

Definitions of the Social Studies

To Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977), definitions in the social studies have been marred by conflict (in the American context). This politicised debate has involved academics from related disciplines and lobby groups. Some groups define it as a social science, calling it social science education. Others define it as history, but often do not desire to include the disciplined inquiry that marks history as a field of study. Wesley (1942) referred to "the *social studies*" as "the *social sciences* simplified for pedagogical purposes" (p. 6), which "deal with human relationships (p. 3). The United States Office of Education Standard Terminology for Curriculum and Instruction's definition was "aspects of history, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, and philosophy which in practice are selected for instructional purposes in schools and colleges" (as cited in Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, p. 2).

Social studies as a term is a recent phenomenon – it was used in 1916 at the National Education Association "to refer to all subjects of study concerned with *human relationships*" (van Manen & Parsons, 1983, p. 2). Van Manen and Parsons wrote the 'social studies (education)' or 'social education' could imply the teaching of:

> history, geography, anthropology, political science, sociology, economics, social philosophy or any combination of the social sciences. Although the social sciences are the most important referents for the content knowledge included in social studies courses, social studies education is not restricted to the social sciences.... Social studies … represents the rather expansive attempts of teachers (and laymen) to make some pedagogical sense of the multiplicity knowledge gained from the more or less scientific study of human relationships and interactions. (pp. 2-3)

In this work, the author defines social studies as a school subject with a loose amalgamation of predominantly social sciences with integrated humanities centred on two main unifying areas: primarily history and secondarily geography with government studies (civics). The instructional goals range from personal decision making to knowledge in world affairs, from providing a liberal education to societal decision-making.

Over time, the definition of social studies has expanded to include more than the social sciences and humanities. By 1994, the National Council for the social studies had included mathematics and the natural sciences to "promote civic competence" (as cited in Singer, & the Hofstra New Teachers Network, 2003, p. 18). According to Singer and the Hofstra New Teachers Network, the complexity of the world and the demands for informed participatory citizens in a democratic society called for the social studies to be multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary.

Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) observed that goals and objectives usually have little agreement. They wrote that this "seamless web of confusion" in defining the social studies could be inclusive while allowing for different views (p. 10). Barr et al. also explained that the field of social studies has been affected not just by educators, social scientists, and by special interest groups, but that cultural forces from the mainstream have played a role. Others, in examining the disciplines integrated into the social studies, pointed to the natural conflict between the humanities, which stress the creative process, and the social sciences, which are chiefly concerned with descriptive analysis of human activities and structures, and saw the need for understanding and incorporating these differences in teaching social studies (Brubaker, 1972).

To derive a definition, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) looked at the instructional goals as opposed to content that leads to conflict, with analysis being a matter of focusing on the characteristics of 'purpose, methods and content' (p. 58) within social studies. Similar to Tyler's curriculum design questions, they asked the kinds of questions that teachers or curriculum designers would ask: What is my purpose or goal? What methods or methodologies should I use? How or what in terms of content (Barr et al., p. 58)? They outlined three diametrically opposed, competing, and conflicting historical traditions based on different philosophical systems of social studies: (1) *social studies as citizenship transmission*, (2) *social studies as social science* (including history), and (3) *social studies as reflective inquiry*. These traditions provide tools (or the basis for a 'framework') on which to synthesize the areas of divergence.

Yet, despite their differences, in their analysis they found commonalities in these different competing traditions. For example, all traditions agree that the main purpose of social studies as being 'citizenship education' (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, pp. 67-68; Schneider, 1989, p.148). Hence, Barr, Barth, and Shermis defined social studies as "an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education" based on the common goals between the traditions (p. 69). They wrote that the three traditions, at the time of writing, had "general agreement that the primary, overriding purpose of the social studies is citizenship education" (pp. 67-68).

Furthermore, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) found congruence that social studies is multi-disciplinary, drawing from 'content' selected from multiple disciplines: "social science, history, the humanities, and other areas concerned with human relationships -- and interrelated and integrated for the purpose of citizenship education" (p. 68). Although citizenship itself is a debated term with ideological differences, leading to conflicting educational designs (Janzen, 1995), it will be assumed in this chapter that good citizenships is desirable and that, broadly speaking, societies need knowledgeable, informed, critical thinkers who participate in society for the common good.

The expansive array of human and societal studies, resulting from the complexity of humans and their society, has left behind a broad field to be covered by the social studies, only to be narrowed by informal or formal bases of power. According to Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977), this lack of clear agreement is problematic for teachers as they have to decide whether to teach the predefined way or whether to teach students "to be independent, critical thinkers" (p. 4). Therefore, competing conceptions lead to different emphasis. Indoctrination has been am important issue, defined as an educational experience leading to 'uncritical learning' and which can occur when a program has "an uncritical transmission of knowledge" (Barr et al., p. 16). To distinguish between critical or uncritical learning, I will construct an analytical framework at the end of this chapter to distinguish between a program of studies with characteristics either for democracy or for inculcation. It is assumed, due to the nature of the polity and society, that a less traditional more pluralistic democratic society would have a myriad of complex choices and more freedoms in answering which societal topics to cover or goals to impart than a traditional homogenous society that is governed in dictatorial fashion.

History of Social Studies in the United States and Canada

Social studies as a field, as distinct from history and geography, started in the United States, and therefore the history of the subject provides insight about the reasons and purposes for its inception. Van Manen and Parsons (1983, p. 3) categorized and described the four historical periods regarding social studies education in Canada and the United States. The first was up to 1900. During that era, religious education took precedence, while later '*moral conduct*' and '*good manners*' were taught in social education (van Manen & Parsons, p. 3). Geography was the first social studies subject and in 1795 a textbook was written, followed by history, which was first integrated into other subjects but had a separate textbook in 1821. Political studies (civics) were then introduced, while economics and sociology came next in 1913.

The second period was from the turn of the last century to 1957, during the launching of *Sputnik*. Two kinds of social studies programs developed at this time: the *traditional subject matter program* and the *activity approach* (defined later). Historians and committees lobbied for *social studies as social science* during the early 19th century in the US, and the discipline based New Social studies in the 1960s was as a result of this lobbying (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977). The third period was from 1957 to 1967, a time of social strife and activism. During this time, the 'structure of the discipline' reforms took effect. The fourth period was from 1967 to the present with developments such as: *social reconstruction and reflective awareness*, *moral education and valuing processes*, *environmental education and social problems approach*, and *Canada studies and citizenship education* (also to be defined later).

The fifth period has been growing *multicultural*, *regional*, and *global education* since *circa* 1990 to meet growing social, political, and economic trends. For example, Canada enacted multicultural legislation in 1971 and the Multicultural Act was assented to in 1998 giving official strength to the policy. In the United States, a multicultural society (peopled from all continents) is becoming a demographic reality. During the 1990s, trade blocs formed: the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), while the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) almost doubled in membership.

As J. A. Scholte in a lecture at the University of Alberta pointed out, globalization started after the wave of colonialism began in the 16th century but has increased especially since WWII (J.A. Scholte, lecture, September, 2004). It entails that the "interconnectedness of different peoples today is more extensive than it has ever been" (Held, 1998). Economic globalization, defined as "the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows" and commerce and financial markets are "more developed and deeply integrated" than in the last century (IMF Staff, 2002). Global communication (example the Internet and satellite television) and contacts (example travel, tourism) have also increased since WWII due to innovations in technology and the growth of Western and Asia Pacific economies. Environmental and global problems such as poverty have, since the late 1980s, been on the agenda (though action has not necessarily been synonymous with policies). Such regional and global developments have had an impact on the study of social studies.

The Transmission Tradition and Related Models

The first tradition is the transmission tradition. The citizenship transmission tradition, the traditional subject matter, or cultural transmission are related ideas, and after separate definitions they will be referred to as the transmission tradition for simplifying purposes in the synopsis. Basically a set culture, usually the mainstream, is taught, characteristically through pre-set subjects packed with facts for the purpose of conveying a set of cultural knowledge, norms, and values. In the US, some have called for a 'common body of knowledge,' (or a 'common core of knowledge') desiring to transmit the foundations of their political democratic and Western culture (Janzen, 1995, p. 135; Schneider, 1989, p. 150). For example, during the 1980s Hirsch, Bennett, Cheney, Ravitch, Gagnon, and the American Federation of Teachers lobbied for such content and instruction (Schneider) as well as Schlesinger and Kennedy (Jr.) (Janzen, 1995). Gagnon wanted the pre-eminence of Western civilization and democracy's beginning in history (Schneider, 1989). Such calls are typical of this model, which tries to engineer or keep alive through younger generations set subject knowledge and values inherent through them or extra to them.

Content and Purpose

CitizenshipTransmission

Citizenship transmission is focused on the goal of transferring culturally bound knowledge. The justification and 'intent' for the transmission model is to "inculcate in students beliefs and convictions" for the *raison d'être* of 'survival of society' and its culture (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, pp. 60-61). *Social studies as citizenship transmission* was the earliest and most pervasive tradition as found in the back to the basics movement (Barr et al.). Textbook and classroom practice over the last 200 years showed that indoctrination was prevalent for national loyalty (Barr et al.). The *purpose* of the *citizenship transmission* model is for students to acquire values and qualities of conduct deemed by the teacher to be desirable for social participation and for the goal of good citizenship (Barr et al.).

In this camp, the school's function is seen as socialization to enable students to become participating members of society. The *content* is prescribed as it is held as the truth; it includes knowledge with beliefs and moral or ethical behavioural guidelines (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977). 'Citizenship transmitters' can be unwritten, tacit, or spoken rules of conduct, not just in syllabi, assignments, textbooks, and tests (Barr et al., p. 60). Besides global multiculturalism, America's cultural heritage from Western Europe was given renewed attention during the early 1990s as, for example, the concepts of political and economic systems based on defined freedoms (Risinger, 1992). World civilizations were also incorporated in social studies for the inventions or ideas that they contributed to humankind (Risinger). Another trend at that time was re-focusing on the role of religion (Risinger). Religion was not a major part of the social studies curriculum for 25 years until the early 1990s. Analysis of religion's role and importance, enhancing understanding of the past and present, became part of the method (Risinger). In the early 1990s, students learned about Islam and its connection to Judaism and Christianity. They were taught about religious persecution and the Pilgrims, who in turn were intolerant in New England. Learning about religious beliefs helps build tolerance and understanding of belief systems that guide conduct. This revised role for religion can be used either for *transmission* or for analytical proposes and understanding, depending on how it is presented.

The *citizenship transmission* model's view "is that the adult teachers possess a particular conception of citizenship that they wish all students to share" (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, p. 59). The *method* employed is 'description and persuasion' (Barr et al., p. 60). Said another way, Schneider (1989) explained that if the school's perceived role in socialization for citizenship is to present knowledge "about the past and present society and in developing and reinforcing commonly agreed upon values and patterns of behaviour, then a didactic mode of instruction prevails" and this is the dominant *modus operandi* in America (p. 148; Janzen, 1995; also see Cannella & Reiff, 1994). By its nature, the *transmission tradition* lends itself more to the teacher-centred and textbook-bound methodology.

The *citizenship transmission* tradition exists partly due to political and economic cultural forces. If stakeholders deem cultural and social preservation important, then certain knowledge is considered important to make informed decisions. For example, to vote it would be considered incumbent to understand political ideologies. Another example is that the US has a congressional democratic political system. It is in their interest to maintain the status quo and to teach about the founding fathers of independence, about the Constitution, about the Bill of Rights, and about the merits of the system such as the arrangement of checks and balances.

Traditional Subject Matter

The *traditional subject matter* program transmits a body of set knowledge. The *traditional subject matter program* was defined by van Manen and Parsons (1983) as "the fact-oriented, history-geography centred approach" (p. 3). It included the study of government. It is still influential and was teacher and textbook-centred, focusing on memory work. According to van Manen and Parsons (1983), critiques questioned the knowledge being imparted, that there was little depth of understanding, that is was too focused on history and geography at the expense of learning about the world of relationships. Furthermore, critics attacked this method as being divorced from students' personal lives and that critical thinking was ignored.

Canadian Studies and Citizenship Education

Canadian studies and citizenship education was a program devised in the 1970s (van Manen & Parsons, 1983) with characteristics that fit under the *citizenship* *transmission* tradition. It was believed that Canadian studies were important, as Canada did not have a distinct identity from America, so that the "definition of a Canadian identity" was crucial (p. 8). This type of program answered the critique that schools were not providing "the basic understandings about their own country" (p. 8). On the other hand, global links and issues cannot be ignored (van Manen & Parsons). This conception – that students in Canada need to be taught about Canadian history, government, and values – was an example of the state educating for nation building purposes to meet the needs of the state. So, in corresponding Canadian textbooks the official history of the Canadian state was found, focusing on settlement that expanded westwards to take it before the Americans, Confederation, heroes such as Sir John A. Macdonald, and the development of sovereignty; all were key topics and concepts to be understood. Critics of this type of program would find this model based on the worldview of the dominant society.

Deficiencies of Transmission Models

The deficiencies of transmission models are found in constructivism and transformative education theories. Freire (1998), a Brazilian educator and minister of education, saw the traditional transmission of knowledge as unacceptable as it was oppressive in its nature and it constrained knowledge. To Freire, the 'banking' system of teaching, whereby educators deposit or pour information into their students, allows the oppressor to repress as the knowledge transmitted is the one valued by the dominant group. This is because the teacher conveys knowledge to students in a one-directional approach, deciding on what information is important. Furthermore, this didactic method assumes that knowledge is stagnant and excludes the students' own experience from the learning experience, treating them like empty, inert, objects that are filled by the knowledge that the teacher deposits into them. Instead of the 'banking' method, he advocated the problem posing methodology of education. Moreover, constructivists generally maintained that, when information is acquired through transmission models, it is not always well integrated with prior knowledge and is often accessed and articulated only for formal academic occasions such as exams (Richardson, 1997, as cited in Abdal-Haqq, 1998).

Social Science Tradition and Discovery

Social studies as social science is the second tradition that views social studies as an introduction to the various social sciences. Another name for this approach is *discovery* (Janzen, 1995). Schneider (1989) defined this conception as "social studies as social science in which the basic constructs and methodologies of the respective disciplines are paramount" so that the curriculum becomes 'multidisciplinary' (p. 148). The *social studies as social science* tradition was part of the conceptual-empiricist 'structure of the discipline' reform movement, having a discipline approach to curriculum. As mentioned previously in the curriculum chapter, Jerome Bruner's *The Process of Education* "outlined a curriculum theory based on the notion of disciplinary structure" (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995, p. 159). Bruner surmised that pupils can be taught academic subjects, and this viewpoint affected the social studies transformation to the social sciences (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977). The structure of the discipline approach led to reforms as Curriculum Task Forces were funded, mostly in the US, consisting of panels of social scientists that devised teacher and syllabus resources focusing on the content and processes of history and the social sciences (Barr et al.; van Manen & Parsons, 1983). They were also involved in social studies teachers' education.

Content and Purpose

Content and *purpose* are based on the different social sciences. The *purpose* of the social science view was for pupils to gain the knowledge, concepts, processes, and skills of the different social science disciplines (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Janzen, 1995; van Manen & Parsons, 1983). Proponents of this camp argue that the goal of effective citizenship is enabled when young people gain the skills inherent in the social sciences to analyze people's conduct (Barr et al.). Exposure to this tradition is considered to provide pupils with skills and understanding enabling them to make informed decisions necessary in a democratic system (Barr et al.). Schneider (1989) summarized the multi purposes of history and the social sciences in curricula as being:

> seen as providing alternative perspectives for viewing human societies in their physical and cultural contexts; as providing a means for coming to know one's own cultural and historical traditions; as providing a means for understanding both common and unique patterns of human development and behavior both temporally and spatially; and as providing opportunity and means for engaging in

> and refining critical thinking about issues and problems that have personal and social significance. (p. 150)

The *content* is "concerned with specific problems, issues, and topics of the individual social science disciplines" (Barr et al., 1977, p. 63). In this view, it is hoped that the frontiers of knowledge will be expanded (Schneider, 1989). Curriculum reports during the early 1990s stressed the need for more history (Risinger, 1992). Pro-history advocates viewed it as the unifying discipline for the areas contained in social studies. Some believed that the humanities and the arts could be taught through history (Risinger). Social history gained ground over political history and military history. In addition, inclusiveness in history became valued – the history of different cultures gained in importance. Furthermore, understanding of historical events was considered central. Along with facts, themes and ideas that have transcended history became curriculum organizers. Students were taught to "analyze cause and effect, distinguish between fact and opinion, and view historical events from multiple perspectives" (Risinger, para. 4).

> Geography during the early 1990s also became central to the social studies curriculum and it re-appeared in its own right. Human geography was included with physical geography. Geographers and educators derived at a framework for geography. These themes were the development in understanding of the concepts of: (1) place, (2) location, (3) interaction between humans and the environment, (4) human migration, and (5) world regions and cultural and global interdependence.

Method

The *method* used by social science advocates was a simplified version of the problems, the 'inquiry' techniques, the concepts, and the theories, or the 'structure of the disciplines,' used in the social sciences, for their assumption is that pupils are able to utilize the same techniques as academics (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, pp. 62; van Manen & Parsons, 1983). Through the *discovery* method, teachers select problems, encouraging students to find answers that are circumscribed (Janzen, 1995). This design uses pre-exiting subject knowledge and students are not encouraged to explore ideas. An example of this approach is when a teacher asks students to read historical documents to encourage students to relate them to why laws were enacted within the Constitution (Janzen).

Critique of Discovery Through Learning and the Social Sciences Disciplines

Van Manen and Parsons (1983) summarized the critiques of the discovery through learning social science inquiry methods. One was a problem of 'implementation' as goals were often not quite comprehended by teachers (p. 5). Second, the social science inquiry model was called too academic and that social science information and processes should not be the goal as "children were not junior scientists" (pp. 5-6). Third, social studies was called irrelevant to students and society. It was termed too limited to academia; and, debate on personal values, moral and controversial issues was excluded. In addition, a related argument was that the social sciences disciplines in and of themselves did not generally have the goal of citizenship education in the same the way that social studies used content and viewpoints for that purpose, nor did their methodologies and findings alone serve those goals (Schneider, 1989). Further, whereas academics in the diverse disciplines were specialized, citizens needed a "broad integrative education that uses multiple perspectives and analytical tools" (p. 152).

The Progressive Tradition

The *progressive tradition* is the third tradition, with *reflective inquiry,* the *activity approach*, the *social reconstructionist approach*, and the *individual constructivist* fitting under its umbrella. Unlike the *transmission tradition,* the *progressive tradition* focuses on process over content, with the methods of reflection and activities being prioritized for the purposes of democratic citizenship. Finally, it is student centred. Progressive education can be summarized as having "ideas and practices that aim to make schools more effective agencies of a democratic society" (John Dewey Project on Progressive Education, 2002, para. 1).

The *purpose* of the reflective inquiry is "citizenship defined primarily as decision making in a socio-political context" (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977). Dewey was the founder of the inquiry method (Barr et al.). The underlying reasoning is that democracies need decision makers in their political process – for voting, lobbying, as well as social decisions such as which groups to join or what causes to stand for (Barr et al., p. 64). The goal is to create students who will become "citizen problem solvers" (Engle & Ochoa, 1988), as the transmission mode is considered inadequate (as cited in Schneider, 1989, p.

148). The characteristics of this alternative education philosophy are accepting individual differences and cultures as well as critical, 'socially engaged intelligence,' which enables students to be participating and co-operative citizens (John Dewey Project on Progressive Education, 2002, para. 1). Progressive education components have been given names such as 'child-centered' and 'social reconstructionist', and have occasionally been divided; Dewey and similar theorists would have seen them as being associated (John Dewey Project on Progressive Education, para. 1).

Goals of the Progressive Tradition

The *social reconstructionist* goal is to transform society, usually through cooperative means, while *progressives* in general prefer developing the capacities of the individual student to meet such aims. The replication of society is equated with passing on the culture of the previous generation and with mechanized uniformity; meanwhile renewal of society is based on critical thinking, a new consciousness or conscientization designed to transform society (Freire) based on the tapping of hidden individual potential through transformative learning.

Reflective or critical thinking are the tenets or goal of the *progressive tradition*, with the idea of 'reflective thought' as originated by John Dewey in '*How We Think*' (Shermis, 1999) and he also used the term 'reflective inquiry' (Janzen, 1995). Dewey's 'basic assumption' was that learning improves with reflection (also referred to as critical thinking, problem solving, or higher level thought) (Shermis, 1999). Dewey stressed 'reflection' over 'habit' or 'impulse' because he believed that only the first method of decision-making provides a reasonable outcome (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, p. 64). Dewey (1933) defined reflection as: "Active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusion to which it tends" (as cited in Shermis, 1999, para. 3). Others, such as Lambright (1995), expanded and adapted this definition into the method of Socratic seminars, using dialogue to enable students to expand and clarify their thinking on concepts and beliefs (Shermis, 1999). *Social studies as reflective inquiry*, a philosophical method stemming back from ancient times, was proposed by the N.E.A. Committee on the Social Studies, 1916 (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977).

Method and Content

The underlying progressive philosophy provides a rationale for both the *method* and *content*, which are inextricably linked, separated only for conceptual analysis (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977). Whereas, in the social science position, the problem set is pre-selected, with the reflective inquiry tradition "the students usually select the problem and make the choice" based on relevance to them, (Barr et al., p. 64) which are connected to "needs and interests" (Barr et al., p. 66) and which are realistic questions needing "informed, rational decisions on the basis of democratic ideals and values" (Schneider, 1989, p. 148). This approach to social studies draws on content from different disciplines focusing on critical thinking and problem-solving skills over fact acquirement (Schneider). Hence, the process takes precedence over a pre-chosen body of content in this view.

The *method* used is the process of making choices and analysis of the decision, which enables students to utilize appropriate skills (including literacy, finding information, interpreting, synthesis, and assessing values) (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977). In critical analysis and reflective inquiry, "students engage in the direct in-depth study of persistent social problems" asking: What? Who? Where? When? What if? How do we know? So what? What can be done about it (Schneider, 1989, p. 148)?

The *content* "consists of those problems which are selected and studied" (Barr et al., p. 65). The pupils select problems, sometimes with assistance, based on their quest for answers. For the problems to qualify, they must be either found in society or theoretically possible to occur to students at the time of the inquiry of in the future. It is either a social or a personal issue, with the former being "objective, empirical phenomena" while the latter is introspective, with "feelings and values and private outlooks" (Barr et al., p. 66). Controversial issues were often ignored by textbook publishers and curriculum developers in the US (Risinger, 1992). According to Risinger, "This is a barrier to the development of critical thinking and decision making necessary for effective participation in a democratic society" (para. 12). Critical thinking can be accomplished through examining divisive issues from different viewpoints and to use primary documents (Risinger). By the early 1990s, current and controversial issues started being included in programs.

According to van Manen and Parsons (1983), the *activity approach* was inherited from the progressive education movement. It was a student-centred approach based on their interests using the 'activity program' (doing). This education movement used methodologies influenced by Dewey and his followers such as the project approach (associated with Kilpatrick), interest centres (Decroly's conception), activity curriculum, the topic approach, and the enterprise unit method (van Manen & Parsons). Examples of the activity unit included the activities of: "making, reading, reporting, planning, evaluating" (van Manen & Parsons, p. 4). Critiques denounced the activity program as unorganized in planning and without adequate 'knowledge and skills' (van Manen & Parsons, p. 5).

Constructivism

Social constructivism.

Constructivism has many variants, all falling within the realm of progressive *tradition*. Although related in their philosophy, they vary in their teaching methodology. There are three strands within *constructivist* interpretations (Vadeboncoeur, 1997) – *Piagetian* (*psychological constructivism*); *sociocultural* (social or Vygotsky constructivism); and *liberatory* constructivism (Abdal-Haqq, 1998). *Social or Vygotskian constructivism* theory's goal is social transformation and examines the socio-cultural context (Abdal-Haqq). Knowledge construction is formed through connections with culture and the society, transforming the individual and his or her surroundings as a result. "The subject of study is the dialectical relationship between the individual and the social and cultural milieu" (Abdal-Haqq, para. 7).

Hegemonic cultural discourses affect knowledge (Martin, 1994; O'Loughlin, 1995, as cited in Abdal-Haqq, 1998). Historical and cultural contexts affect what is taught and how it is taught; they influence knowledge constructions, the subject, and teaching methods presentation. The goals are social transformation and reconstruction, so that by deconstructing education the underlying framework of dominant socio-cultural and historical suppositions, prejudices, and discourses are revealed and opened to discussion, criticism, and necessary change (Myers, 1996, as cited in Abdal-Haqq). Abdal-Haqq explained that: "Variants of social constructivism include situated constructivism, social reconstructivism, sociocultural constructivism, sociohistorical constructivism, and emancipatory constructivism" (para. 8).

Social Reconstructionism.

The *social reconstructionist approach* was a version of social constructivism. *Social reconstructionists* took a sociological view, wanting to transform society through education. Fundamentally disagreeing with the dominant capitalist economic system in America, they had a different view of education (Koole, 1986). Instead of capitalism, they supported the collective ownership of the means of production to benefit the 'social good' and 'public welfare' (socialism) and they supported industrialization (Koole, p. 6). They believed that the democratic ideals of freedom and equality were violated under capitalism (Koole). To them, schools were the vehicle for building this ideal society.

Others, like Harold Rugg, a social studies educator, believed that education would solve social problems and improve America's lifestyle (Stern & Riley, 2001). *Social reconstructionism* is viewed as being a product of 20th century Dewey progressivism. With the growth of totalitarianism, and the Great Depression, some questioned the ability of the economic system and government to deal with problems (Stern & Riley, 2001). By the 1970s, *social reconstruction* and *reflective awareness* programs had started in Canada as result of the realization of 'exploitation,' 'oppression' and 'racism' (van Manen & Parsons, 1983, p. 6). Their aim was critical awareness and social justice. Related to this was another program. *Environmental education* and *social problems* approaches were created using a multi-disciplinary approach as a result of environmental and social issues (van Manen & Parsons).

These social reconstructionists made contributions to the debate about the role of the school during the 1920s and 1930s (Koole, 1986). First, social reconstructionists believed that teachers should challenge social stratification while promoting the values of equality, freedom, and a classless society. Second, they spoke against indoctrination in favour of free and open inquiry. Social studies, to them, should be relevant and creative. Third, instead of child-centred learning, which they found too individualistic, *social reconstructionists* endorsed collective action, which they thought would bring about a co-operative world.

The *social reconstructionist* favoured a methodology structured around concept building through group work instead of individually focused activity. Nevertheless, it is to be argued both are different sides of the student-centred model. *Reflective inquiry* and *constructionism* have the same aims in fostering critical thinking and are opposed to didactic methods of teacher-centred inculcation. Although the *social reconstructionist* teaching methodology would be based on cooperative learning, it is not fundamentally opposed to child-centred methods but does oppose individual competition and education.

In co-operative learning activities, the teacher acts like a guide in organized group activities, setting up the learning process but not controlling it. The outcome would be group-based. Both *reflective inquiry* and *constructionism* have the same aims in fostering critical thinking and are opposed to didactic methods of inculcation. Other components include application and participation. Rugg and the *social reconstructionist* believed in students working through real problems, using critical thinking skills and working in their communities to "improve their lives and to the lives of their fellow citizens" (Stern & Riley, 2001, p. 57), like Freire (1998).

Social action.

Social action is related to *social reconstructionism and emancipatory constructivism*. Both desire the transformation of society. It also involves reflective awareness. Janzen (1995) defined it as an "approach to citizenship" that "encourages direct student involvement in community service projects and local and national politics so that students put democratic principles into immediate practice" inferring that active involvement in the socio-political affairs is necessary (p. 135). These ideas are related to Rugg's community involvement. Debate exists about whether pupils should be involved in community services (Newman & Oliver, 1967; Parker, 1991, as cited in Janzen) or whether to be 'activists' seeking 'social and institutional change' (Giroux, 1988; Lewis, 1991, as cited in Janzen).

The critique of the social action approach would be that class time is better spent learning about social science disciplines or that students can have theory inform practice later in life, for example when they are of voting age. Another would be that social activism by schools alone is unattainable because guardians and the society at large also socialize students. Nevertheless, social action has settled into a solid social studies' philosophy based upon the belief in the empowered citizen – even if that citizen is young.

Psychological constructivism.

Psychological constructivism was based on developmental psychology and was an individualist form of constructivism developed from the 1970s on, as opposed to the earlier sociological collectivist approach. During the 1990s, constructivism gained renewed attention in education scholarship, practitioner preparation, and policy formation (MacKinnon & Scarff-Seatter, 1997; Richardson, 1997; Teets & Starnes, 1996, as cited in Abdal-Haqq, 1998). *Constructivism* as a theory sought to understand and elucidate the meaning of knowledge and how knowledge is absorbed and processed by people (Abdal-Haqq). *Individual constructivism* was held to be more empowering for school and teacher education students and in line with cognitive research that revealed that: "Each individual actively creates concepts, therefore **constructing** (Von Glasersfeld, 1984; Piaget, 1974) individual understandings and even individual realities" (Cannella & Reiff, 1994, p 28). In attempting to make sense of learning, it held that learners developed new knowledge and perceptions through a cognitive process that connected their prior, ingrained, individual conceptions and beliefs with new experiences, views, and concepts to which they were exposed (Cannella & Reiff, 1994; Richardson, 1997, as cited in Abdal-Haqq, 1998). Cannella and Reiff's view is that an empowered learner is 'inquisitive, reflective, enthusiastic, and autonomous' (p. 28), hence the relationship with the reflective inquiry approach. Knowledge is gained through individual participation with meaningful content rather than simply learning by rote or memorization or through the transmission models (Cannella & Reiff, 1994; Kroll & LaBoskey, 1996, as cited in Abdal-Haqq, 1998).

Constructivist methods are considered to allow for greater integration and depth than traditional methodologies (Abdal-Haqq, 1998). Psychological or Piagetian constructivists viewed the purpose of education as meeting and sustaining the needs and requirements of the individual student (Abdal-Haqq). Therefore, the individual becomes the centre of educational activity with an emphasis on the child's intellectual formation. In this individualistic, child-centred approach, researchers aim to discover, through the scientific approach, cognitive development (Vadeboncoeur, 1997, as cited in Abdal-Haqq, 1998). The assumption is that pupils have their own 'ideas, beliefs, and opinions' that teachers affect through devising problems for students as part of the learning activities with the goal of knowledge construction. Pedagogical methodologies utilized are 'discovery learning,' 'hands-on activities,' student activities that lead to questioning of their ideas and beliefs (Richardson, 1997, as cited in Abdal-Haqq). Learning activities involve activities, 'inquiry,' 'problem-solving or issue centered approach' (Stern & Riley, 2001, p. 57), and co-operation (Abdal-Haqq, 1998, para. 2). Instead of being a bastion of imparted knowledge, the teacher acts as a 'guide,' 'facilitator,' (Stern & Riley, 2001), and 'co-explorer' who is charged with assisting students in formulating their own opinions and ideas and encouraging them to question (Abdal-Haqq, 1998, para. 2). An 'empiricist' or 'reductionist' (Oldfather, Bonds, & Bray, 1994, as cited in Abdal-Haqq), single view, approach with pre-set answers are the antithesis of constructivism.

Critique of Constructivism

Like other traditions, constructivism has been critiqued. Critics denounced the psychological or Piagetian constructivism on the basis that this theory is too biologically based with little or no emphasis on school cultures and society. It also ignored critical theory questions such as power, or whose knowledge is being taught (Abdal-Haqq, 1998). For some, progressivism has become filled with commonplaces and inanities, and by reducing the rigor of academic moulding opening up students to outside pressures, be it the pervasive influences of popular culture or the dominant cultural hegemonic group (Schug & Western, 2002). For critics like Schug and Western, 'Muzak Progressivism' provides no clear help or guidelines for classroom teachers and merely offers platitudes about the importance of the social sciences and history without a coherent and logical overarching concept as to how to best achieve social sciences literacy within the framework of student-centred teaching.

Schug and Western (2002) contend that teachers who use direct instruction in an organized fashion have a correlation of high student results with positive attitudes in regards to learning. Liss (2003) counters that 'Muzak Progressivism' allows students to contextualize their learning within the larger paradigms of society and the world, thus building a meaningful learning experience relevant to their lives and developed in partnership with teachers. This is opposed to the subjugation of education to the tyranny of facts and conventional norms.

Emancipatory constructivism.

Freire (1998) also wrote about the importance of critical thought in promoting liberation. He called for the problem-posing education model involving critical inquiry and dialogue between the teacher and the student with mutual respect, about meaningful situations, where information is mediated and 'reality' uncovered to replace the banking method. Students become active in this transformative education: "The students–no longer docile listeners–are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. The teacher presents the material to the students for their considerations, and re-considers his earlier considerations as the students express their own" (p. 75). The goal is critical consciousness where students find meaning in their environment.

Methodologies and Examples

Shermis (1999) provided insight into specific methodologies and examples in implementing *critical* thinking. He wrote that agreement exists that reflection in the classroom requires a questioning methodology that promotes students' thinking and ideas. Reflective theory can be used for all age levels and involves the students producing a problem. This requires that teachers understand the cognition of students. It involves asking students "questions which create conflict and confusion" and facilitation in finding and acknowledging an answer (as cited in Shermis, para. 13).

Questions should not be 'dead-end,' inappropriate, do not allow for 'wait time', involve 'trick questions,' or are repetitious of information. Questions that promote thinking skills pose a problem important to the students (Dewey, Hullfish & Smith, Hunt & Metcalf, Bigge & Bayles, as cited in Shermis, 1999). Educational evaluation that fosters critical thinking does not involve memorization, but practice and demonstration of such skills (Cross, as cited in Shermis) and application of knowledge (Lambright, as cited in Shermis), with the purpose specified initially. Reflective pedagogy includes the highest levels of the Bloom Taxonomy such as 'analysis, synthesis and evaluation' (as cited in Shermis, para. 13).

Shermis (1999) wrote that Simpson, Weast, Hauser, and Wasserman designed paradigms of questioning to promote higher level questioning to instil student reflection on problems. This model of generating problems encourages students to present information differently, compare varying accounts of events or ideas, role-play, find missing information and inconsistencies, examine 'what if' scenarios, analyze social context, and to identify assumptions (Shermis). For kindergarten, this can involve reciprocal teaching of fairy tales where students are questioned on the assumptions of the story.

Critique of Progressivism

The back-to-the-basics movement and the 'common core of knowledge' advocates have argued against progressive trends. During the 1990s, back-to-the-basics advocates called for core subject content and testing. Cheney and Ravitch called for Western 'cultural literacy', against the process and skill focus at the cost of core knowledge, charging 'curriculum fragmentation' (Schneider, 1989, p. 150). Van Manen and Parsons (1983) noted that *social reconstruction* curricula are seen by some as "counterproductive to the maintenance of patriotism and societal order" (p. 6). This type of approach is not in the interest of government or other institutions.

Another critique of the *social reconstruction* approach would be that social activism by schools alone is unattainable due to the fact that guardians and the society at large also socialize students. *Environmental education* and *social problems* approaches meanwhile could be time consuming or a time waster if new insights are not found (van Manen & Parsons, 1985).

Life Adjustment

Life adjustment is an approach to social studies that "emphasizes personal development based upon individual interests and capabilities" (Janzen, 1995, p. 135). This conception of social studies can embrace a number topics that have not found a home in other curriculum areas and which are recognized as pertaining to purposes of socialization and preparation for entry into adult life (Hertzberg, as cited in Schneider, 1989, p. 148). For example, learning about careers, family and life management.

In the 1950s, Prosser espoused the 'life adjustment' approach to do with family and home education, 'personal and social adjustment 'and character building (Fitzgerald, 1980, as cited in Janzen, 1995). Similarly, the American Social Hygiene Association (1955) published a social studies handbook with topics such as personal and family living and safety (Janzen). The 1970s and 1980s saw an increase in the demand for 'life adjustment careerism' by business and political leaders (Janzen) with the goal of learning life or survival skills and socialization, with intrapersonal relationships being highlighted. As Janzen has noted, this approach has had influence in the classroom and is "a focus of moral education advocates" (Purpel, 1991, as cited in Janzen). Life adjustment is seen as a necessary focus in modern societies that do not have as many immediate social supports with the *content* based on student interest and abilities (Janzen).

Ethics or Values

Attention to ethics or values falls under the moral development aspect of life adjustment. In Canada, new programs focused on *moral education and valuing processes* began because of concern over values, or with the lack of them among young people (van Manen & Parsons, 1983). There were two programs types -- values clarification approaches or the moral reasoning development. The first approach involved assisting the child in developing a set of values. The second involved debates about moral predicaments with the teacher facilitating the students to move up moral reasoning ladders. It was critiqued as often dealing with artificial issues. In Asia, citizenship education has a pronounced "emphasis on harmony, spirituality and the development of the individuality and the self." These concepts are "interrelated" and "fundamentally different from the West" (Lee, 2004, p. 286-287).

Until the early 1960s, many social studies textbooks in the US included values such as 'honesty and punctuality,' but by the 1970s the shift was to values clarification or 'value-free' social studies, where the goal was for students to clarify their beliefs (Risinger, 1992, para. 9). In the early 1990s, social studies program of studies encouraged analysis of the role, behaviours, and responsibilities of the individual that contributed to a just society ('civic virtues' or values) (Risinger, para. 9).

Critique of Life Adjustment

Transmission or *social science* advocates would most likely be against the focus of such a *life adjustment* social studies curricula on the grounds that it does not provide either requisite knowledge, or the acquired thinking skills needed for citizenship. They would argue that such an approach detracts from time spent on necessary core content and inquiry skills needed for a general education, while specific life skills can be learned from family and society. The life adjustment position can be related to constructivism and would critique that inquiry skills in personal affairs would be good practice.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a recent approach, which views the mainstream cultural propagation as assimilationist and imperialist, but instead calls for all cultures to be appreciated and sustained (Janzen, 1995). This approach is theoretically similar to internationalist approaches, as both are multicultural in nature (Janzen). *Multiculturalism* involves appreciating diversity and seeing other cultures' perspectives including valuing different belief systems and lifestyles (Janzen).

Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) referred to the approach as 'ethnic studies,' which was intended to familiarize students to minority groups and to fight racism. Banks (1993) explained multicultural education as an idea, concept, or an educational reform movement. Coombs (1996) categorized three types of multicultural education programs. The first is curricular multicultural education (CME), or the program of studies. The second is procedural multicultural education (PME), which looks at the process of schooling that should occur. Third is social multicultural education (SME), which prepares students for responsible citizenship in a multicultural pluralistic society. The *purpose* is to promote voices and spaces for the multiplicity of cultures.

During the early 1990s in the US, it became a trend to focus on having a social studies curriculum that included multiculturalism *content* and diversity of culture views within the US and the underlying "beliefs and goals" that united the country (Risinger, 1992, para. 7). This meant that a true multicultural perspective presented an accurate picture of all the different groups that comprised American pluralistic society (Risinger). But, according to Janzen (1995), this approach was not widely accepted in America. Multiculturalism also became a trend in Canada. For example, in the Alberta (Canada) Education Social Studies 7, 1989 Program of Study, one of the topics (C) was *A Bilingual and Multicultural Country* (Alberta Learning, Alberta, Canada, 1989).

The *method* is for the curricula to be overhauled and for all cultural groups to be represented and included in and outside the classroom. An advocate, Banks (1988, p. 273, as cited in Janzen, 1995) wrote, "Effective teaching about ethnic groups can best take place within an educational setting that accepts, encourages, and respects the expression of ethnic and racial diversity." This includes reforming the whole school, including the 'hidden' curriculum. In practice, this would mean, for example, that a social studies teacher could ask students to compose a project about their culture, and for the school to acknowledge different holidays and customs.

Critique of Multiculturalism

Critics call multiculturalism 'fragmentary,' despite allowing for Foucault's 'multiple' perspective (Janzen, 1995). The *transmission tradition* camp would view the multicultural approach as being deficient in teaching future generations about the accomplishments of the country and passing on values that are cohesive.

Regional Education

Regional education, defined as learning about geographic neighbours, has been an approach evident in social studies curricula and *content*. The *purpose* is to educate students about neighbouring states for understanding and for possible connections to build the future, and sometimes to promote citizenship education. A precept of human geography has been that there are more intensive interactions and exchanges with closer municipalities and countries, so it is likely that curricula reflect this reality. For example, America is Canada's major trading partner and has impacted its culture. In the Alberta (Canada) Learning Social Studies 9, 1989 Program of Study, one of the topics was (A) *Economic Growth in the USA* (Alberta Learning, Alberta, Canada, 2005a). The Alberta Learning Education Social Studies 9, 2005 Program of Study also has America as a topic: *Issues for Canadians: Economic Systems in Canada and the United States* (Alberta Learning, Alberta, Canada, 2005b).

On a formal level, trade regions have increased their economic ties through agreements. Interactions like travel are also more intensive to neighbouring countries. In Europe, the formations of the European Union in 1992 from its precursor the European Economic Community or the Economic Community have formally strengthened its intergovernmental structure (the European Commission, Council of the European Union, the European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice). European Economic and Monetary Union, trade, work, and mobility rights, removal of internal barriers have all taken place. With the removal of barriers came a demand to strengthen the European identity. Ross (2002) wrote that various states started citizenship 'education initiatives', which were supported by the "European Commission for Education for a form of European citizenship" (p. 46). This type of citizenship concept was broader than the traditional nationality definition and encompassed common values, society, and culture (Ross). Amongst the concerns were the diminishing voter participation rates or the 'democratic deficits' (p. 46). Teaching methods are not prescribed with this approach.

Global Education

Global education has developed more steadily since the 1990s (J. Parsons, personal communication, July 3, 2005) and is defined as the social studies that incorporates international themes, issues, and problems with the realization of the interconnectedness of the world and global problems. The increase in global education comes at a time of increased globalization. Globalization is defined in multiple ways, economically, politically, or socially. Economically, there has been increased integration of economies, while immigration, refugees, and travel have increased international contacts. Technologies, such as improvements in communications, have added to globalization. In addition, many problems are interconnected globally, such as environmental pollution and degradation and poverty.

Global developments have had an impact on the study of social studies. The purpose of this type of education is to make students aware of these developments to make them into global citizens, or at least to better understand world issues and to encourage them to think about problem solving on a world scale. In Alberta, for example, the Social Studies 20 Program of Studies, Topic B was about: *The Growth of the Global Perspective* (Alberta Learning, Alberta, Canada, 2005a) with concepts such as disparity, diversity, interdependence, economic development, quality of life, environmentalism, cooperation, and sustainable development. In 2005 there has been a drastic shift to arranging the Social Studies 10 program of studies around the theme of globalization. Topic 1, *Perspectives of Globalization*, is designed to introduce students to the concept of globalization and its beginnings and its effects on economics, land use, societies, communities, people, and cultures in Canada and around the world. Topic 2, *Living in a Globalized World*, further expands on these themes, with added emphasis on aboriginal and Francophone cultures (Alberta Learning, Alberta, Canada, 2005b). Examples of topics are environmental education and social problems while processes and skills foster critical and creative thinking, social science knowledge, and inquiry that can be related to constructivism and social action method.

The Integrated Humanities Curriculum and Assessment Guide (Secondary 4-5) in Hong Kong SAR, prepared by the Curriculum Development Council and the Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority (recommended for use in schools by the Education and Manpower Bureau, HKSAR, 2003), aimed at students not taking Personal, Social and Humanities Key Learning Area subjects, incorporated the concept of globalization in a mandatory module. Learning objectives included "to understand the process of globalization and to reflect upon its pluses and minuses" and "to be sensitive to and to show concern for personal, interpersonal, local, national and global issues" (p. 4). An expected learning outcome was to be aware that globalization is multi-faceted and to evaluate its effects. Core module III was *Globalization*.

Civic Education for Global Understanding

In the US, effective citizenship has been an important goal for educators but, with advancements in communications and transportation and with growing transnational problems, there is a demand for a 'different approach' called 'civic education for global understanding' (Titus, 1995). This type of conception is almost identical to *global education*, but is combined with the transmission or social science methods to meet both national and global citizenship education aims. This civics "includes a renewed engagement with and dedication to the civic needs of our nation" (Titus, para. 1). The global village metaphor is acknowledged, so that the definition of civics has expanded to include "transitional and transcultural" issues and action (Boulding, 1988, as cited in Titus). Civic education for global understanding is important for several reasons (Titus). One is the realization that US civic participation needs reworking as factors leading to alienation have led to apathy. The second is that "societal dislocation" demands that civic education build "a sense of community" (Titus, para. 3). Components of civic education for global understanding include teaching youth about the history and governmental structures of their country with a focus on democratic.

Goals of Civic Education for Global Understanding

The goals of civic education for global understanding are: 1) increase interest it civics and increase community and national political participation with an 'appreciation' for US history, politics, and cultures to maintain democracy and 2) recognition that citizenship obligations transcend boundaries. Many problems cross national frontiers and understanding world affairs and growing interconnectedness among nations are part of the second set of goals.

Content

Geography is an important content because it explains where resources are located and relationships between states. Geography is more than names and places, however; it includes geo-political factors affecting history and it exposes students to other cultures (Jarolimek, 1990, as cited in Titus, 1995). Economics is also vital in the new civic education, with the topics of trade and its relationship to manufacturing processes being essential (Jarolimek, 1990, as cited in Titus).

Implementation of civic education for global understanding involves change to traditional programs. Skills of good citizenship must be learned and practiced (Callahan, 1990, as cited in Titus, 1995). Skills include influencing public opinion and communication with community members. Barber (1992, as cited in Titus) proposed a model for teaching citizenship involving school and community service. In addition, Boulding illustrated ways of attaining "a global civic culture" through participation in groups such as international non-governmental organizations, and sports associations (1992, as cited in Titus, para. 4).

Critique of Global Education

Opponents to this new development in global education might deny that globalization is really taking place, because states remain the sovereign powers (except in some cases with the supranational type of powers European Union institutions were vested with by member states). They would prioritize education for the goal of good local and national citizenship participation, not an elusive concept. In this view, valuable class time would be more productively spent on familiarization with national issues and problems, which are more immediate and allow for easier solutions

Conclusion

The subject area of what social studies is composed of has expanded over the years. It started off as mainly inculcation for citizenship, the social sciences gained ground, or knowledge for citizenship. Later the importance of critical thinking took hold. Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) summarized four objectives or goals of citizenship (p.

68-69). First, they argued for creating a base of knowledge about "the human condition" within the liberal arts tradition. Second, they argued for the importance of developing in students the capacity to process information effectively and critically. They also promoted the development of values and beliefs amongst youth. As the final goal, they urged an 'active social participation' or 'application.'

For the objective of citizenship education, the above elements were seen as a unifying force by the authors. It needs to be recognized, however, that while teachers may have the same goal, they also have differing philosophies about the best means to attain that goal. An argument persists about whether social studies should be composed of a process or content; about whether core knowledge and values should be the priority, or the importance of critical thinkers.

In theory, there are opposing goals within social studies philosophies, but they can be blended. Schneider (1989), citing Hertzberg, explained the two sides that have competed for citizenship education: social efficiency reformers who believed in slotting and sorting students, while the progressives believed in a meritocratic system. Social studies educators must decide whether "there is a fixed body of knowledge to be imparted, or whether personal and social problems are to be the focus of social education", curriculum organization must be selected, and the type of teaching methodologies and resources to meet the needs of the students and community (p. 148).

Whether the curriculum should or should not be focused on the process of enabling students to find information and to apply it to solve real-world problems depends on whether the purpose of schooling is to be knowledge transmission or its application (Bagenstos 1977; Nelson & Singleton 1987; Thomas 1999, as cited in Stern & Riley, 2001). However, the importance of both the content of social sciences and history and process have been called for (Johnson, 1940; Hertzberg 1981, 1988; Wiggins, 1987, as cited in Schneider, 1989). But this division is only academic. As Thornton (2001) observed, teachers make daily decisions about the subject matter and learning experiences, converting content into subject matter. Practitioners may have a predominant philosophy, which guides their pedagogic practice, but if the teaching method is not prescribed, they can use a variety of methodologies to accommodate the different learning styles or multiple intelligences of Gardner's theory.

Analysis and Framework

An analytical framework was set up to decipher if a program of studies goal is to inculcate political values or norms (uncritical learning), or if a program of studies goal is intended to foster critical thought for democracy. Teaching methods can be summarized as two ends of the spectrum -- content education for authoritarianism versus process education for democracy. A syllabus can be examined whether it if for democracy or for inculcation using the criteria in Table 5-1. Basically, uncritical learning syllabi provide limited biased information, with certain predispositions such as glorifying the status quo political or social system and the past. The content presented is inadequate and shown favourably if the intent is replication, or unfavourably if the goal is to judge other social systems negatively. Meanwhile, critical syllabi provide holistic information about political and social systems or encourage students to seek out information. Content is not subscribed but is open ended for inquiry. Pedagogies for inculcation are based on teacher-centred models such as traditional lecture, note taking, transcribing, and repeating back during examination. Democratic methodologies provide flexibility, choice, questioning, debating, cooperation, information building, constructing knowledge, building or speculation of new ideas and theories and other student-centred pedagogies. In summary, training for inculcation presents a closed, biased body of knowledge whereas an education for democracy provides open and flexible systems of learning and attempts to be more neutral in the presentation of content. Uncritical schooling is xenophobic while critical and democratic education is tolerant and cosmopolitan. In the former, students are expected to unquestioningly accept and internalize data, while in the latter, students are expected to become critical thinkers. In the next chapter I will describe and start analysis on the Civics Guidelines, Government and Public Affairs syllabus, with reference to other social education subjects of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

Appendix

Inculcation: citizenship education for authoritarianism	Democracy: citizenship education for democracy
- Important events that glorify the country - Political history/ patriarchal history - Leaders of nation presented as heroes (past and present) - Stress certain traditions, values, beliefs or ideologies that are promoted - National stories and symbols are taught, the group is stressed - One-sided history - Consensus approach in society - Glories of the past and present - A selected body of knowledge is stressed - For subject matter, one political doctrine is promoted, no "alternatives for fair comparisons" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 8) - Methodology involves drilling of politics with discussion or questioning sidelined (Curriculum Development Committee) - Surface understanding of the structure and functions of government; mainly descriptive or procedural - Unequal or biased treatment of different political systems (our system is best mentality); the political system is treated as well functioning with no deficiencies - The intent of the instructor is to inculcate beliefs in political proposition(s) (Curriculum Development Committee) - Teachers and textbooks are seen as authorities, which in turn are prescribed and state controlled - Teacher-centred, pedagogic didactic methodologies are stressed - Appeal to the emotions through certain symbols, slogans and rituals such as flag glorification and anthem singing	- Study of controversial issues e.g. racism, gay rights - Political, social, women's and minority history - A cross representation of people are studied based on students' interest - Discussion, debates about pros and cons of different values - Different interpretations and/or views of history are provided with multicultural and global forms of knowledge incorporated - Conflict approach in society - Present controversial issues and historical injustices from the modern perspective are presented - Multiple ideologies are part of the syllabus - Critical thinking skills are considered important instructional goals based on societal problems and students' interests - Underlying political philosophies and history of government evolution provide depth in understanding of the structure and functions of government - Students are encouraged to come to their own conclusions about the merits of government and creative thinking in creating new systems or problem-solving of deficiencies are encouraged - Discussion or questioning promoted (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985) - Teachers do not attempt to manipulate youth into certain political or personal beliefs - Teachers have choice in choosing topics based on students' interests; textbook choice - Student-centred pedagogic methodologies are encouraged - Appeal to reason and the intellect

Table 5-1 Criteria for analysing the goal of social education

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Description of Personal, Social and Humanities Education, Civic Education and Government and Public Affairs Chapter 6

Social education comes in many forms, and this is the case in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), China. Civics and Government and Public Affairs (G.P.A.) will be the focus of description in this chapter and analysis in the next. Civics was first taught in Chinese instruction schools before World War II, and was introduced as a certificate examination subject (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985)[i]. Social Studies was created out of the merged Geography, History and Civics in 1952 to break down the disciplinary divisions with the goal of promoting enquiry skills into society, similar to the 1980s syllabus which tried to provide students the skills of "flexible thinking and problem-solving ….. thus making them more competent in relating themselves to a changing society" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 2).

Civics remained as a separate subject, but by 1965 it was modified into Economic and Public Affairs (E.P.A.) in order to "gain acceptance by local and overseas universities." However (E.P.A.) was not "an unqualified success" due to the lack of specialists who taught it at the junior secondary level, with the few specialists focusing on economics (Morris, McClelland, & Man, 1997, p. 34). The goal of the 1969 and 1970 E.P.A. was information acquisition, civic awareness and good citizenship (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The 1985 Civics "Guidelines," as Vickers (2003) highlighted, were to be introduced as a 'cross-curricular theme' taught across the subjects, so they were more symbolic of the government's plans than relevant as schools maintained their exam focused strategy. The colonial Government, due to its need for support, did not attempt coercion. They had advocated the 1996 Guidelines to be a separate subject. However, a new syllabus was drafted by 1998 as the HKSAR Government stressed Chinese patriotism (Vickers, 2003) and nationalism (Tse, 2004). The G.P.A. curriculum was introduced in 1988 as a subject to promote preparation for PRC citizenship (Morris, et al.).

This chapter will be delineated to describe civics education, specifically the 1985 and 1996 Civic Guidelines, briefly touch on the 1998 Guidelines, examine the 2002 reform on Moral and Civic Education and look at the 1985 and current G.P.A. syllabi as case studies. References will be made to other Personal, Social and Humanities Education syllabi, such as E.P.A., but it is not in the scope of this thesis to describe them in depth. [i] These syllabi changes will be examined in this chapter [ii] in light of macro-level factors, especially politics. Morris, McClelland, and Man, 1997 stated that "In Hong Kong, macro-politics -- especially the political relationship between Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China ... have exerted a powerful influence on the curriculum" (p. 28). Sweeting (1991) concurred that sovereignty change was altering the formal curriculum at the time of writing. This trend has continued post-handover, and preliminary findings confirm the patriotic and nationalistic trend in civic education, which has intensified. This chapter highlights the deficiencies in well-rounded political education, specifically alternative political systems, and in political philosophies and concepts. In fact, the chapter will support the point that Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China has experienced a decline in the quality of political education for upper secondary since 1985.

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[i] Guidelines of Civic Education in Schools (1985), E.P.A. Secondary (1985), Guidelines of Civic Education in Schools (1996), and the G.P.A. (1985; n.d.) have been described in detail, but modified

Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, August 1985

Background

The 1985 Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools was attributed to early 1980s political reforms and forthcoming political changes, and the perceived need for students to comprehend these developments (henceforth called the "Guidelines") (Morris, 1990;1991). The "Guidelines" were issued three months after the ratification of the Sino-British Joint Declaration for Hong Kong's sovereignty handover to the PRC. Bray (2000) wrote that, "The document was directly tied to initiatives to develop a representative government, which were themselves part of the transitional arrangements initiated by the colonial authorities" (p. 183). The 1997 sovereignty agenda, besides local representative government reforms during the 1980s, created a politicised climate that created concern for HKSAR citizenship and education for democracy. Morris (1990) observed that increased attention was paid to civic education during the 1980s, predominantly due to two connected reasons:

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[i] Macro level issues are "where society at large and education connect" (pp. 17-18); macro levels of analysis are studies that "focus on larger structural processes" (Barakett & Cleghorn, 2000).

[ii] Please note that during the 2004-2005 years, the Education and Manpower Bureau of the HKSAR has an Internet web site, with the home page being http://www.emb.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeid=2&langno=1 with information, including on curriculum development and curricula in use.

> the development of representative government in Hong Kong and the impeding return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997. The desire that Hong Kong should emerge as a relatively autonomous administrative region after 1997 resulted in calls for the Education system to produce a politically aware citizenship and a more democratic political system. (p. 93)

Lobbying for civic education came from Legislative Councillors, pressure groups and the public (Morris, 1990). Demands came to create politically astute citizens who would maintain their rights and autonomy and the government wanted to ensure a smooth transfer. As Cheung and Leung highlighted (1998), the Education Department, in its 1985 Guidelines on Civic Education met this pressure in the preamble:

> There is a special need at this particular time in Hong Kong's social and political development for schools to renew their commitment to the preservation of social order and the promotion of civic awareness and responsibility and these guidelines are designed to facilitate this renewal. (p. 1)

The forward stated that the Board of Education and the Education Commission accepted the curricular plan. Furthermore, heads of schools concurred that teachers had a part in "the social education of their pupils and that there is a special need at this time in Hong Kong's political development to ensure that pupils understand the significance of the changes that are taking place" (p. i). Political changes were a catalyst for the 1985 "Guidelines."

The 1984 White Paper titled, 'The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong,' recommended that the Education Department advance civic education. The forward stated that the 1984 White Paper "recognised the need for the public to be educated more effectively to cope with the implications arising from proposals for developing the local system of government" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. i). In effect, this meant democratisation at the municipal level. Incidentally, in 1985 a Provisional Regional Council was set up, while in 1986 the Regional Council proper was created, to provide municipal services, with a combination of direct, indirect elections and appointments (Document III.b.b12: 'Regional Council,' Hong Kong 1986, Hong Kong Government Printer, 1986, as cited in Tsang, 1985).

During the early 1980s, District Boards also introduced elections (Document V.c7: White Paper: White Paper District Administration in Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Government Printer, 1981, as cited in Tsang, 1985). The "Guidelines" stated that it was pertinent to prepare students into the community, by helping them to understand the "forces" that affect it and "which are fundamental to a democratic way of life" (p. 1). This was the time of steps towards democratisation, and the Civics Guidelines reflected these steps.

Definitions in the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985

Key social studies terms were defined by the "Guidelines" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The first was *civic education or education for citizenship*. Specifically, citizenship was defined as "the relationship between an individual and his [*sic*] government," while generally, "that relationship can be extended to other members of society" (p. 7). It was unquestioned that Hong Kong residents were citizens, not subjects of the British colonial administration under the sovereignty of the Queen. A logical analysis was that this definition must have been due to the rights accrued under Common law and the responsibilities that the government, through the Education Department, expected in return and for the future HKSAR government. The "Guidelines" continued, "So civic education, which is synonymous with education for citizenship, can be interpreted as the process in which desirable qualities in people are developed to promote better and healthier relationships with government and other members of society" (p. 7).

The second definition was *political education versus political indoctrination*. Political indoctrination was described "in terms of subject matter, methodology and the intentions of the instructor" (p. 7). One was subject matter for "Indoctrination has to do with political 'doctrine.' If only one doctrine is introduced with no possible alternatives for fair comparisons, then there could be indoctrination" (p. 8). Two was methodology; "A method involving the authoritarian drilling of political information or ideas with little or no opportunity for discussion or questioning could be seen as indoctrination" (p. 8). Three was the intentions of the instructor, "If a person instructs with the intention of inculcating a belief in a political proposition (or propositions) regardless of evidence, then it might be said that the instructor has indoctrinated his [*sic*] learners" (p. 8). In analysing the "Guidelines," it is interesting how the author of the syllabus, a government department, whose directives are legally binding for teachers, did not take the onus for indoctrination. In the analysis chapter of this thesis, the 1985 Hong Kong government's own benchmark will be used to detect whether syllabi are for indoctrination or democracy. These criteria will be used in the analysis chapter to differentiate between education for inculcation (or indoctrination) and political education (for democracy).

The third attempt at a definition was *education for democracy*. The 1985 Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools explained that:

> Democracy means different things to different people. As the American president Abraham Lincoln put it, it means "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". Alternatively, it may also be interpreted as a way of life in which the decision-making process is characterized by majority control. There are many brands of democracy in the political arena – some pluralistic, some centralist and various combinations of both. So education for democracy per se would be difficult to interpret. Although some basic understanding of the concept of democracy may be introduced according to the intellectual level and experience of pupils, for the purpose of these guidelines, the term "civic education" will be used. (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 8-9)

In a sense, the latter part of the section acted like a disclaimer that introducing democracy was valid if developmentally appropriate, but the aim of civics was not education for democratic government. As (Morris (1990;1991) observed, unlike the 1989 G.P.A. and the E.P.A. 1984 changes, specific political concepts and democratic processes were omitted, and hence it was apolitical. This definition is quite unclear, perhaps a reflection of the fact that Hong Kong in 1985 was not a democracy, but pressure had begun to build for democratisation, so that the first direct elections for seats to the Legislative Council occurred in 1991. In addition, the fact that only 12 years remained under British administration meant that the government could institute such reforms without having to be overly concerned about their future implications for its control. As mentioned earlier, Morris (1990; 1991) had linked the 1997 factor with the demand for a politically astute citizenship and more democracy.

The fourth definition was *political socialization* (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985):

> Socialization is usually understood as a process through which new or immature members of society are induced to accept and conform to traditionally established ways of life. To this end, civic education, with the promotion of social responsibility as its main aim, becomes a method of political socialization. (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 9)

These Guidelines were seen as problematic in that government viewed civics as political socialization (Cheung & Leung, 1998). However, the critique was added in the "Guidelines," stating that the aim of social responsibility leads to docile individuals who accept government's actions, preferring questioning and changes. A qualification was added that, "In light of Hong Kong's recent political development, evolution should be the watch-word and the emphasis in this guide will be on civic education as a politically socializing force for promoting stability and responsibility" (p. 9). Hence, the stated aim was the status quo. Morris (1997) observed that the 1985 and the 1996 civic education Guidelines (and others) were, "By their very nature the advisory, discretionary and non statutory status of the guidelines sent clear messages that they were optional and not designed to disturb the status quo" (p. 119). Political concepts were included, but governmental analysis was the focus with citizenship rights and responsibilities, as evidenced by the lack of methodologies that fostered political involvement (Morris, 1990; 1991).

The Approach of the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985

The "Guidelines" had an integrated thematic cross-curricular approach. A common core curriculum was set up in 1972 at the junior secondary level with shared "concepts between subjects" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 3). One element was "knowledge and understanding of man and his social environment" (p. 3). For example, the Social Studies 1980s syllabus had a theme on the same matter, with topics about individuals, society, the citizen's role within the community and the world, with "coordinated elements of History, Geography, Health Education and Economic and Public Affairs (E.P.A)" (p. 3). Critical thinking, logical reasoning, and the sharing of ideas were promoted.

The progressive tradition was evident in the Form IV-V syllabus in the mid 1980s with the enquiry method being highlighted. The locus was the community to enable them to be "informed and responsible citizens" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 4). The syllabus was concerned with transmitting the norms and regulations of society to prevent anomie by investigating "the need for rules and regulations in the effective functioning of society" and discussing socially important issues (p. 4). Focus existed on the importance of "free and informed discussion" with case studies for examination (p. 4). Guest speakers were to be invited to discuss their work and relevant issues. The E.P.A. syllabus for junior secondary forms also had the stated aim of citizenship education, thus having the same goal as social studies. The central theme was "the individual and society" intended to bring understanding of the community, to participate there, and to recognize the value of "social responsibilities" (p. 4). For senior students, government and public syllabi were drafted to improve political knowledge.

The subject area and related topics were outlined in the "Guidelines" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The well-rounded nature of the secondary curriculum was delineated, because the goal was to "nurture, extend and develop in all pupils of whatever ability a wide range of skills: practical, physical, social, political, aesthetic, intellectual, moral and personal" (p. 41). The common core curriculum was to develop certain values. For secondary schools, the main social subjects were: Social Studies, E.P.A., G.P.A., Liberal Studies, Economics and Geography. However, science was also a way of dealing with social concern matters while History and Chinese History were intended to help students understand society and culture, as well as political and economic factors. Moral and ethical subjects were tasked with studying human behaviour and social problems, while the aesthetic and technical subjects were to develop the effective imaginative and social sphere. For primary, Social Studies was the main subject for teaching civic education. This was supplemented with assemblies, class-teacher periods, while some schools set aside certain periods (Curriculum Development Council, Education Department, 1996).

The 1985 "Guidelines" took an "inter-disciplinary approach" or "cross-curricular plan" and "whole school" approach. These guidelines outlined an implementation framework across the school system (Cheung & Leung, 1998). The "Guidelines" mentioned that civics education would be fostered throughout the formal curriculum, supplemented through the extra-curricular activities in the form of community service projects, raising civic consciousness and instilling a sense of civic duty through the hidden curriculum. To implement civic education through the formal, informal and hidden curriculum strategy, a 'system approach' was suggested with the elements of input (resources and time), process (the curricula), output (citizens with "expected knowledge, attitudes, and skills") and feedback ("Evaluation of Process and Output") (p. 5).

Aims and Objectives of the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985

Aims and objectives in the "Guidelines" in schools for civic education was outlined as the task "to develop in young people the sort of knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for them to become rational, politically sensitive and responsible citizens who can contribute constructively to the process of political and social change" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 10). General aims were to foster knowledge about community institutions and to uphold democratic principles, to prepare students for participation, to develop rational decision making skills for socio-political issues, and to provide opportunities for student experience in "discussion, debate and decision-making through participation in a variety of formal and informal situations and structures" (p. 10).

Teaching objectives were outlined in the "Guidelines. These "Guidelines" noted that these objectives were bound with Social Studies and Economic and Public Affairs (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). "Moral, political and ethical aspects" of courses are included, with the aim of inculcating "a sense of commitment to effective citizenship" (p. 11). At the kindergarten and primary level, the objectives were: to assist students in identifying their role within social groups (example family, neighbourhood); to "promote an elementary understanding of Hong Kong's way of life, the cosmopolitan make-up of its people, its economic and cultural ties with its neighbours, and the importance of co-operation for harmonious living and prosperous development"; to foster "tolerance and respect for others and to appreciate the value of co-operation within a social group"; to develop in students an appreciation of basic social values, thoughtfulness towards other members of society, and living in harmony with others ; to increase community consideration; and to form "enquiry and social skills" that allow students to arrive at decisions and opinions based on critical thinking and research and enable them to communicate clearly and persuasively (p. 11).

At the secondary level, the teaching objectives were: "To enable pupils to acquire the structure and working of the Hong Kong Government and its relationship to other institutions"; to build understanding of community issues; to build individual and community identity, and to allow for understanding of "their rights and responsibilities as citizens"; "to foster an appreciation of democratic values and principles which underpin our community and to assess alternative interpretations of these values and principles as practiced elsewhere"; to increase admiration of Hong Kong's cultural heritage and to understand the principles of cultural interaction; to improve comprehension and analysis of international relations and conflict; to further social awareness through promoting involvement in varieties of social activities and settings that foster social judgment and knowledge of the duties and requirements of society; to raise critical awareness by presenting students with the tools and skills needed to research and understand a wide range of social functions and features; to form skills in analysis and evaluation of social issues; social and political skill formation to create responsible decision-makers (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 12)

Civic Education through the formal curriculum for kindergarten and primary school, as set out in the "Guidelines," was described as a basis for the upper levels (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The suggested framework stated that socialization occurs early in schools so that they could attain "positive civic attitudes and skills." Therefore, it was incumbent to provide chances for such value formation and skills expansion. The formal curriculum framework had basic knowledge, attitudes and skills needed for civic education. In addition, the framework had the main contingents for the civic education, whilst outlining the socialization aspect. It was noted that teachers should apply their professional judgments to meet their pupils' requirements. Moreover, the "expanding environment approach" was not prescriptive in pedagogical function. As television had expanded the child's environment, a "global perspective approach" might be utilized to assist children in comprehending "the relationship of people to events in their broadest social context" (p. 13).

The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985 and Kindergarten and Lower Primary

At the kindergarten and lower primary, the "Guidelines" prescribed that knowledge revolved around the individual, social groups (family, school, neighbourhood and community), personal roles and responsibilities, rules and regulations, and responsibilities in-group life (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 14-19). The attitudes included identity, respect and love for family and tradition, sharing, equality, tolerance, justice, "respect for other people's needs and interests," sense of responsibility, fairness and willingness to follow rules, co-operation with others for the common good, and personal contribution (pp. 14-19). Examples of skills were "to identify and discuss places of civics interest in the neighbourhood and the people who work there" for kindergarten, (p. 15), "to identify one's relationship with other members of the community" (p. 17), "to co-operate with other members of the group in completing a task" (p. 18), and "to participate in activities for the common good of the group" for lower primary (p. 19).

The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985 and Upper Primary

For upper primary, knowledge attitudes included sections on Hong Kong society, the nation (China), the government and citizenship in the 1985 "Guidelines" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The goal of Civic education in the upper primary was knowledge about Hong Kong and China (Cheung & Leung, 1998). Hong Kong and China's multi-faceted links were studied to understand the concepts of interdependence and co-operation, and heritage Chinese pride. By 1985, civics had been chosen as a vehicle with which to prepare Hong Kong's future generation with the dual identities of Hong Kong and China. Unlike the 1981 Moral Education Guidelines, the 1985 "Guidelines" tried to "prepare pupils for their future as citizens of China" as this issue was important in 1995, but not in 1981 (Morris, 1990; 1991, p.120; p. 131). Lee, (2004a) added that the "Guidelines" was the first government document to overly mention the need for a Chinese identity, and love and pride for China; for it was perceived as a result of the Sino-British Joint Declaration (2004) The Hong Kong knowledge contingent included physical and human geography, history and economics. Twelve years before the handover of sovereignty to China, Hong Kong children had attitude objectives in the syllabus to form a "sense of national identity and belonging," to love Hong Kong and China, to have pride in both Hong Kong's and China's "people and their achievements," to respect the Chinese culture and tradition and its neighbours (p. 19). Examples of skills were to identify one's relationship with society and with China. Expectations for students were to gather data and interpret information about Hong Kong, China and their neighbours.

The "Guidelines" for upper primary placed citizenship education under the theme of Hong Kong's government and laws (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Hong Kong's government and world affairs were intended to broaden knowledge and conceptual understanding via discussion of civic rights and responsibilities (Cheung & Leung, 1998). The government section was about the function of a government (the "government works for the common good and protects individual rights and freedom"); the work of the Hong Kong government (services, maintenance of law and order, etcetera); and the government and the people. [iii]Attitudes were leadership, authority, the common good versus individual needs, awareness, appreciation and co-operation of government, and support for public good (p. 20). Skills were logical and rational thinking, gathering data and interpreting information about the government. Another skill to be obtained was participation in activities to support the common good (p. 20). The government section was quite descriptive, except for the inclusion of the underlying reason for the works of government.

An entire section in the "Guidelines" for upper primary outlined citizen-rights, freedoms and responsibilities (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Rights of a citizen were defined as "An understanding that a citizen possesses certain civil rights e.g. right to life, right to liberty, right to justice, right to equal opportunity, right to private ownership of property" (p. 20). Attitudes included an awareness of rights and privileges for oneself and others; respect for other people's rights; and courage to protect one's rights and other people's rights. Skills included expressing personal feelings and convictions regarding one's rights and critical thinking with consideration of results. It is noteworthy that rights and freedoms, which were imbedded in the "Guidelines," were Western libertarian. For example, in 1991, the Hong Kong Legislative Council passed a draft Bill of Rights in line with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, except for the right to elect political representatives and self-determination. However, at that time the PRC had not signed the International Covenant and therefore did not have to send reports to the United Nations' Human Rights Committee (Shipp, 1995).

[iii] Whereas the common good can be found in both Western and Eastern political philosophy, individual liberty stems more from Western philosophers such as J. S. Mill and J. Rousseau.

The "Guidelines" for upper primary included a section about citizen freedoms and responsibilities (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 21). Freedom was defined as "An understanding that a citizen is free to do certain things within the limits of the law e.g. freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom of thought, freedom of travel and movement. The freedoms in the "Guidelines" to be taught were Western liberal democratic value ones, but found in Hong Kong common law, the same freedoms were enshrined in the American and Canadian constitutions, besides the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. For example, the US Constitution (Bill of Rights) allows for freedom of speech and religion, whilst the Canadian Charter of Rights, under the fundamental freedoms sections, states freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, freedom of conscience and religion and a section for mobility rights. The United Nations declared, "human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief" (1948). This is opposed to the People's Republic of China, which has not instituted "fundamental legal and institutional reforms" towards attaining human rights such as freedom of expression (Amnesty International, 2004). In a sense, the 1985 "Guidelines" seemed to be aimed at preparing Hong Kong youth for a SAR that would retain and expand on the freedoms under the period of democratization, and was not one based on convergence in legal systems.

Twinned with freedoms, such as found in Western political thought are responsibilities and the "Guidelines" reflected this. Responsibilities of a citizen were explained as acknowledging some obligations towards fulfilling responsibilities such as respecting the rights and properties of others, participation, observation of the law (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Attitudes focused on developing a sense of responsibility and contributing to the betterment of society. Skills were defined as participatory and had to do with civic involvement, especially defined as acting in a considerate and responsible manner towards other members of society and in developing an awareness of appropriate behaviour (such as being unselfish and considerate) and fostering a positive outlook.

The "Guidelines" outlined the subject area and related topics (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). For kindergarten, the "Thematic Approach" was recommended for civics education implementation. An expanding environment approach was used for themes ranging from "Myself" to "People who help us." The Chinese tradition was also to be taught thematically so that the aim of "cultural heritage and cultural identity can be inculcated" (p. 22). Setting up socialization experiences for society was a key task for the teacher. At the primary level, the Social Studies syllabus aimed at developing the "child's behaviour, knowledge and skills so that he [*sic*] will become a useful member of society" for forming "co-operative and responsible members of the community" (p. 23).

The range of topics stemmed up to community. Concepts included "roles, rules, co-operation, rights and responsibilities" (p. 23). Upper primary studied "Hong Kong and its government, and Hong Kong's relationship with the world" (p. 23). A multiplicity of links with China was to be studied, with the dual purposed of understanding "interdependence and co-operation" and to instil pride in "Chinese" (p. 23). Further, Social Studies teachers were advised to provide opportunities for "value orientation and skill training" because it was argued that a citizen needed both an underlying set of social norms and the skills necessary to ensure that they conducted themselves according to these accepted social values (p. 23). It was noted that while Social Studies was the main avenue for civic education and awareness, civic education should also be implemented in other subjects, such as Science and Health, arts, and languages. In languages, activities such as textbook work, debates and thematic projects were mentioned. It was recommended that the arts be used for the purposes of cultural heritage and environmental awareness.

The "Guidelines" suggested continuity of themes from primary through junior secondary to sixth-Form classes (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The changes that adolescents go though were explained, and it was recommended that, at this time of individual and social re-grouping, values and beliefs could be reconsidered and behavioural patterns compared. Social subject teachers were charged with implementing civics, but other teachers were encouraged to incorporate the "social and political" dimensions and to employ these into their pedagogic practice. The framework focused on continuity, with themes built on from primary: the individual; the individual and social groups; the individual and society (Hong Kong); the individual and the nation (China); the individual and the world (p. 25). Generally, the focus was:

> In very broad terms, the emphasis at junior secondary level is on understanding the basic concepts of civic education; focusing on one's rights and responsibilities and developing personal and interpersonal skills. At senior secondary level the emphasis is on interpretation of the basic concepts forming positive attitudes and refining personal and interpersonal skills. An evaluation of basic concepts, an appreciation of the values inherent in decision-making, including the moral values involved in participatory democracy, will be important areas for exploration at sixth-form level. (p. 25)

The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985 and Junior Secondary

At junior secondary level the topics ranged from the individual to the nation (China) (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). In this chapter, only the political sections will be listed in full, and some of the Chinese identity sections, as both were relevant to the sovereignty handover. The knowledge component was about understanding oneself in terms of growth and development, hygiene, and personal fulfilment (p. 26). Attitudes included personal identity, respect for differences, and inquiry. Skills included coping and caring for oneself, "to develop an inquiring mind," "to plan for personal growth and development," "to exercise self-control, determination and moral courage" (p. 26). It was noted that individual and social group knowledge starts with the family. Taking a traditional stand, but not defined, the "Guidelines" stated that "concept of family as a basic unit of society," roles, family life and structure. Attitudes included the "importance of the family to society," belonging and peace in the family, filial piety/love, and care for parents and elders in the family, while skills were to show love and concern for family members (p. 26).

The school and the neighbourhood were knowledge concepts, to do with school functions, rules, regulations, roles and such at the junior secondary level (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Attitudes had to do with instilling "correct and positive attitude" (p. 27) such as respect for school head, teachers and non-teaching staff, whilst skills had to do with appreciating the school, learning skills, participation and appropriate behaviour. Onus was placed on the students, because they were to create rules and regulations for their activities. The neighbourhood or community knowledge contingent was about the concept of larger social groups, "physical and social environment" knowledge, and information about surrounding facilities. Attitudes had to do with a sense of belonging to a district community, moral responsibilities in maintaining a good neighbourhood, care for surroundings, respect for others, and a participation contingent in district community affairs. Skills were about identification, description and use of facilities of the community. Polite communication and participation in district affairs were others. The latter could imply democratic participation or service.

The individual and society of Hong Kong was the third topic at the junior secondary level (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). The knowledge concept was "Introduction to Hong Kong with basic knowledge of its history, its geographical setting, its people, its industrial, commercial, financial, social and cultural development" (p. 28). Attitudes included a sense of belonging and duty to Hong Kong, and appreciation of the local cultural heritage. Skills focused on identification with Hong Kong, description of its history, geography, and economic development, show a positive image of Hong Kong, and "to participate in community service" (p. 28).

The next knowledge concept under the individual and society was about the government of Hong Kong, "a brief description of the administration of Hong Kong; the importance of law and order to a community; the government and the people" at junior secondary level (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 28). Attitudes included appreciation, co-operation with government, respect for law and order, support for common good, and awareness of Hong Kong Government affairs. Skills included logical and rational thinking, evaluation of government, group interaction skills, e.g. discussions, debates, social and political participation skills, participation for society's benefit, such as government campaigns.

The third knowledge concept under the individual and society was citizen rights and responsibilities (understanding basic rights, freedom and responsibilities) for junior secondary (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 28). Rights were the right to life, right to be protected by law, right to private ownership of property, and right to vote.

These rights are libertarian in nature, focussing on individual political and economic freedom to be guaranteed by the law, as opposed to communitarian rights or Marxism. Attitudes were appreciation of one's own rights in society; correct attitudes in exercising one's own rights; respect for other people's rights, and "be prepared to protect one's rights and that of others" (p. 29). Skills were to express personal feelings and convictions regarding one's rights, objective thinking for data analysis, and decision-making with regard to the end result.

The first and last skills have to do with democratic decision making for citizenship. Freedoms listed were of freedom of speech, of worship, from unlawful arrest, and travel. As mentioned earlier, these freedoms highlight Western liberal democratic values. Attitudes had to do with appreciating freedom for oneself and others, and "be prepared to protect one's freedom and that of other people" (p. 29). The latter attitude had to do with ensuring the continuity of the status quo by future generations. The skill set for the freedom concept was designed to convey appreciation and belief in the value of freedom. Responsibilities included obeying the law, respecting others' rights, and supporting "civic activities for the common good" (p. 29). Attitudes were about "awareness of one's responsibilities"; contributing to society and [civic-mindedness" (p. 29).

Appropriate group behaviour, civic activating participation, and inter-personal and social participation skills were included in the skills section. The fourth sub concept under the individual and society was current issues and understanding of political, economic, social and cultural development of Hong Kong, such as representative government. Interest and understanding of current issues were included under the attitudes section. Another attitude was a sense of obligation to problem solving of issues.

The fourth knowledge concept for junior secondary was the individual and the nation (China) (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Further, the concepts were "a basic understanding of the history of China; its geographical setting and cultural heritage"; "awareness of China's recent political and economic development", and "an understanding of Hong Kong's cultural, political and economic link with China" (p. 30). These civics "Guidelines" were an attempt to have dual identify – both local Hong Kong and national Chinese. Attitudes included a sense of national identity and belonging; love for the nation and pride in being Chinese; respect for Chinese culture and tradition; willingness to contribute towards the economic development of China; appreciate the need for interdependence; appreciate the importance of the role of China in maintaining stability and prosperity of Hong Kong; appreciate the contribution of Hong Kong towards the modernisation programmes in China; and an awareness of the latest developments in China (p. 30). Skills had to do with identifying one's relationship with China; to describe briefly the history and geography of China and particularly its latest political and economic developments; to explain the need for interdependence, and to analyse and interpret information objectively (p. 30). An initial analysis suggests that these "Guidelines" were the start of a different trajectory than the post-World War II strategy, which omitted political information by design (see Morris, 1990) and recent history or current events of the time about China (see Vickers, 2003). In effect, the intent was to understand China and the importance of links for future citizenship.

The fifth knowledge concept for junior secondary was the individual and the world (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Knowledge topics consisted of: understanding the world through Hong Kong's links as a cosmopolitan city (fusion of cultures); an export-oriented city (dependence on world markets); a financial centre (dependence on foreign investment); a tourist centre (dependence on tourists); and a place to promote international understanding (p. 31). Attitudes were to have respect for different cultures, respect for people of all races, creeds and cultures; appreciate the importance of international understanding and goodwill besides understanding free-trade and the financial system. A more specific analysis will be reserved for the next chapter, but suffice to say that this section consisted of elements of globalization and multicultural education, with cosmopolitan citizenship, while upholding capitalist and trade liberalization economic principles.

The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985 and Senior Secondary

The individual was the first topic listed for senior secondary (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 31). The individual was also the first knowledge concept for senior secondary. It referred to physical development and emotional characteristics of the adolescent and awareness of these changes. Under the topic social behaviour lay personal development, such as study skills and friendships.

The next category of concepts for senior secondary was the individual and social groups: the family, the school and the neighbourhood (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 32). The family section listed roles and responsibilities within that unit, attitudes like a sense of love and belonging and skills like group and interaction. This section mirrored the junior secondary one, but added preparation for married life and finance and the family, highlighting the importance of the family. The school section also had role-playing in that capacity, plus certain attitudes like helpfulness and respect, with organisational, leadership and other social skills. Moreover, the section included preparation for after school, for further studies and career was a sub-section, with decision-making as a skill (p. 33). Peer relationships and social and inter-personal skills was another sub-section under the school. The third section was the neighbourhood, which built one the junior secondary topics, with greater understanding expected and higher order thinking skills such as objective evaluation of district Board Matters (p. 33).

The individual and society (Hong Kong) was the third topic, which covered political studies for senior secondary (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 34). The first was the Hong Kong Government: functions and policymaking: reasons for rules and regulations and categories of rules. The attitudes component was concerned with awareness of government functions and appreciation of rules and regulations. The skills were about analysis and interpretation of information, "self-control for the common-good," considering community needs. The second topic was about the government and the people: representative systems under liberal democracies; consultation with people, major official channels for the redress of grievances; and informal influences on policy making (p. 35).

The political studies topic covered an introduction to liberal democracies, and socialized youth to the mechanisms of consultation as recourse to lobbying or dealing with government grievances. My general research suggests that consultation had been important to Hong Kong Chinese. For example, a study by Lau and Kuan (1988) indicated that to many Hong Kongers, democratic government meant that government consulted public opinion, without being dictated by the opinion. Attitudes were "respect for equality, liberty and rationality"; constructive criticism; "appreciate the importance of these channels of communication"; and "appreciate the value of informal influences on government policy" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 34). Skills were to "express personal feelings and convictions regarding liberal democracies"; to criticize constructively, to present a case objectively; and to "identify channels for redress of grievances" (p. 35).

In this section, it was apparent that, although liberal democracies were to be presented, the expression was value-neutral. My analysis suggests that this value-neutral aspect is a result of the fact that during 1985 the inroads of democratization had just started. I noted previously in my history chapter that representative government was introduced at the regional and district levels (*Green Paper: The further development of representative government in Hong Kong*, July, 1984, as cited in Tsang).

The third concept under the individual and Hong Kong society was greater understanding of the rights and responsibilities of a citizen such as consumer education. Attitudes were about consciousness of individual rights as limited by local law and duty towards the "common good" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 35). Communication included information about rights and freedoms; exercising one's civil rights and responsibilities; and support and participation in community service were the skills (p. 35).

The fourth concept for the individual and Hong Kong society was greater understanding of current issues related to the political, economic, social and cultural development in Hong Kong. Attitudes and skills entailed increased awareness of current issues, evaluation of current events and providing constructive criticism (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 35). In effect, this politicised section of the syllabus was a departure from post-war policy. Lee (2004a), Morris (1990; 1997), and Sweeting (1998) observed that the curricula up to the approximately 1985 was apolitical or depoliticised.

The fifth knowledge concept, the individual and the nation (China), for senior secondary was almost identical to junior secondary, but with the expectation of greater understanding. The prime difference was that the concept of having understanding of China's geographical setting was not found in the senior secondary "Guidelines." Knowledge of an "awareness of China's recent political and economic development" did not exist in the senior secondary. Also missing in the senior secondary attitude section was the concept of sense of national identity and belonging. The skills component for senior secondary expected further discussion on Chinese culture and tradition.

The fifth topic for senior secondary in the "Guidelines" was the individual and the world (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985) like for junior secondary. Knowledge, attitudes and skills start the same but the concepts are expanded. For example, for the junior program, "a cosmopolitan city" was a "fusion of cultures" whereas for the senior secondary program, it was "a fusion of cultures: particularly the influence on Hong Kong's life-style" (p. 35). Another difference was, instead of just appreciating free trade as an attitude, a strong, convertible local currency was added. Part B was added for senior secondary. The topic was international understanding: the world distribution of resources, the world of the United Nations Organisations and world problems e.g. energy crisis, pollution, population. Attitudes focused on appreciating the importance of international understanding and the need for co-operation, and concern for others and for world affairs. Skills consisted of explaining to others about one's own culture and appreciate that of others, analysing and evaluate information and presenting a well-argued case and contribute to problem solving (p. 37).

The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985 and the Sixth-Form

The sixth-form "Guidelines" covered political science and sociology, ranging from the individual and politics, the individual and social groups, the individual and society (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). First, under the individual section was part A): "The individual as a political being" with the aim of expounding on the concept of constitutions and the purposes and structures of government and related elements such as political parties, interest groups and public opinion; sources and functions of law and law courts; fundamental rights and obligations of citizens. The attitudes were to foster an understanding of the rationale for constitutions and the interrelationships between the parts of government and how each part worked to resolve conflict and disagreement amongst individuals and society at large. A major focus was to create an appreciation for the rule of law, justice, tolerance of opposing views, recognition of rights and responsibilities, and respect for the rights of all members of society. The skills were the ability to use constitutions as reference, identify the logistics of government policies, develop communication with government sources, to develop informed opinions, and "practice one's rights and obligations in daily living" (p. 38).

Sixth-form "Guidelines" (1985), part B knowledge concepts were the individual as a social being, acquiring some basic understanding of sociology such as differences between human populations, cultural diversity, industrial societies, and social changes (urbanization and changing belief systems). Attitudes were to foster acceptance of others from different races and cultures, to understand the benefits and problems of technological growth, to create awareness of the challenges and possibilities of urbanization, and to respect the values and opinions of others (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 39). Skills were the ability to work and communicate with people from different ethnic backgrounds and cultures, to engage positively with technology and industry and understand the problems associated with them, learn to live in harmony with others in an urban environment, and recognize "major belief systems" and voice informed opinions on them (p. 39).

The second section for form six "Guidelines" (1985) was the individual and social groups (Curriculum Development Committee). Under these areas were the knowledge concepts that were "general knowledge about group dynamics," social groups, and gender roles (p. 39-40). Attitudes included understanding interactions within groups and appreciating co-operative problem solving, respecting others' opinions within groups, and recognizing gender equality. Skills were the ability to work well within group settings, gain knowledge of different social groups, and how to maintain effective human relations and how to "relate" to the other gender.

The third section for form six "Guidelines" (1985) was the individual and society (Hong Kong) (Curriculum Development Committee). Part A knowledge topic analysed how Hong Kong was governed with the attitude of appreciation of how democratic principles are being applied in the structure and processes of Hong Kong Government (p. 40). An initial analysis suggests that this application was a prime example of how these "Guidelines" sought to promote the democratic principles in Hong Kong. The skill was the ability to appraise government policies. Part B was development of representative government and local administration in Hong Kong, with the attitude to have "Concern for an effective and efficient running of a democratic system" (p. 40). The skill was to participate in a representative democracy. This value gave credence to the claims made that government was concerned with having citizens who would maintain their rights and autonomy (Morris, 1990; 1991). The aim was to prepare citizens who could appreciate democratic values and be active in participating through formal democratic avenues. Hence the "Guidelines" intended to build on the newly found democratic ethos.

Part C knowledge topic focussed on modes of participation in Hong Kong's political affairs (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 40). The corresponding attitude was to understand the importance of participation in public affairs and the skill was the ability to identify the most appropriate way of participating in public affairs (p. 40). Part D was about issues in public policy, with the attitudes of open-mindedness and compromise in regards to policy and differences. Comprehending others' viewpoint and presenting a case based on evidence were the skills (p. 40). Part E topic was the Sino-British Joint Declaration and Hong Kong's future. The attitude had to do with continuity and stability, in line with observations that the Government wanted to ensure both (Morris, 1990; 1991). The skill in this area was to find the parts of the Joint Declaration that add to the growth and stability of Hong Kong. The intent was to prepare for future HKSAR citizenship in section three and four.

The fourth section for form six "Guidelines" (1985) was the individual and the nation (China) (Curriculum Development Committee). The knowledge component was to be familiar with the government and politics of the PRC, the changes, and to have the skills to analyse the forces that have acted upon Chinese society since 1949 and to comprehend the political relationship between Hong Kong and China.

The fifth section for form six "Guidelines" (1985) was the individual and the world (Curriculum Development Committee). The knowledge part was to understand divisions: developed, developing; and capitalist, socialist systems. Students were expected to "engage in rational discussions on world problems," to chose evidence and to analyse it, and to "present a well argued-case and contribute to problem-solving" (p. 41).

Economic and Public Affairs (Secondary), 1985

The Economic and Public Affairs (Secondary) section of the "Guidelines" (1985) had themes or areas not only in economics and political issues, but also legal (Curriculum Development Committee). It was noted that from 1986 E.P.A. in Form VI and Middle VI would be replaced by Government and Public Affairs. Form I had three themes: the growth of Hong Kong (from a fishing village to an entrepôt, to an industrial city, and recent developments); the people of Hong Kong (population issues); and citizenship (identity, rights and responsibilities, life enrichment).

E.P.A. form II had five themes: these were how Hong Kong is governed, law and order, education, social welfare, and housing (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 95-96). The government topic entailed a description of the Hong Kong administration. Law and order was about the importance of it and how order is maintained. The other three topics were descriptive and functional as well. E.P.A. Form III had six themes: these were Hong Kong industries; Hong Kong as a trade and financial centre; pollution and conservation; social evils, prevention and remedies; proper use of mass media; and consumer education (pp. 96-97). E.P.A. Form IV-V had seven themes (*verbatim*): these were Hong Kong Government: functions and policy making; local administration; Government and the people; major problems of Hong Kong as an industrial society; major community services offered by Government and departments and voluntary organizations; legal system in Hong Kong; and Hong Kong and the outside world (pp. 97- 98).

E.P.A. Form IV-V topics for the first two themes or areas were the Governor, the Executive and Legislative Councils, District Boards and Committees, the Urban Council and the Regional Council (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 97). Under the third theme, the topics were comprised of representative systems under liberal democracies (principles and forms); and representative government in Hong Kong; consultation through advisory bodies; official channels for grievances (for example UMELCO, ICAC, Consumer Council; informal influences on policy) (p. 97). Theme four topics were: problems to do with population growth; environmental pollution; problems arising from industrial employment; and crime (juvenile delinquency, drug abuse). Theme five topics were: family planning, housing, urban renewal and new towns;

environmental control, industrial services; crime prevention, treatment for criminals, juvenile delinquents, and drug abusers. Theme six topics were principles of justice; law and law making; and type of courts and their jurisdiction. The last theme on Hong Kong and international relations had the topics of the territory as an industrial, trade and financial centre; its relations with China and the United Kingdom and its future development (p. 98).

Form Middle VI Government and Public Affairs had three themes (see Table 6-1): political science, the Government and politics of Hong Kong and public policy issues in Hong Kong (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 102-103). The content for the first were: constitutions; types and functions of government; the legislature, executive and judiciary; political parties and interest groups; local government (examples mainly from the UK, USA, and PRC); legal functions; citizenship rights and responsibilities; elections and representation systems; and public opinion (p. 102). The second theme's content was: the government, powers of the Executive Council, the Legislative Council, and the judiciary. Next was the structure and functions of the Government Secretariat, Government Departments, semi-governmental bodies, and local levels of administration composed the content (Urban Council, Regional Council, District Boards, Heung Yee Kuk, local administration development) (p. 102). Other topics were consultative democracy, consensual politics and government accountability, public opinion, pressure groups, elections, representation, other forms of participation and addressing grievances. International affairs, Hong Kong's relationship with China, Britain and its future were also listed as topics (p. 102). The topic of public policy issues included current interest topics such as education, housing and law and order (p. 103).

Form VI to VII Government and Public Affairs had seven themes or areas (see Table 6-2): political science setting; basic terms; the individual and the state; the Government and politics of Hong Kong; British Government and politics; the Government and politics of the USA; and the Government and politics of the PRC (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 103-104). The content of the first theme was to identify public affairs and politics as a social science and its relationship to history. Second theme concepts were: state, sovereignty, constitutionalism, ideology, nationalism, legitimacy, authority, participation, representation, freedom and justice. The third set of topics was: comparative electoral systems, parties, interest groups, the role of the mass media as well as demands on the state and responses based on type of systems. Under the fourth theme were the concepts of: constitution, government, legislature and judiciary; bureaucracy; local government; public opinion, interest groups, mass media; public policies; the relationship between Hong Kong, China, Britain and Hong Kong's future. The fifth theme content were the British constitution and its evolution, the function of the monarchy, legislature and judiciary, the office of the Prime Minister, the Cabinet system of government and bureaucracy, British political parties, interest groups and the media, public opinion, and electoral behaviour. The sixth theme concepts were: the American constitution and branches of government; the Presidents function; the Congress and the judiciary; the federal bureaucracy; and federalism. The seventh area of content was: the evolution of the post 1949 system; Mao Zedong; the Cultural Revolution and new leadership; the Four Modernisations. The state and party constitutions; the relationship among the party and state apparatus; the legislature and judiciary's role; and the People's Liberation Army were the next set of topics. The last concepts were: state and local unit problems, the "attitude of the People's Republic of China towards Taiwan, Macau and Hong Kong" (p. 104).

Of interest for analysis purposes is that the concept of colony was not mentioned in the 1985 "Guidelines," just Hong Kong's relationship with the UK. Furthermore, comprehensive and democratic treatment of topics or equal coverage between the UK and US governments' vis-à-vis the PRC system was provided for, so the target was met as set out in the introduction of the document, which pointed out that if subject matter is political doctrine, and no alternatives for comparisons are provided, then indoctrination can result. The content in the 1985 syllabus was such that fair treatment and coverage was provided for varying political systems, so at least the intent was there for reaching a balanced political education, excluding the pedagogical methodology chosen by the teacher.

Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1996

Attention was given to Civic Education a year before the sovereignty handover with the issuance of Guidelines in 1996, because it was hoped that schools would have renewed commitment. The introduction acknowledged the "social, economic and political changes" that had occurred. It was reiterated, that citizenship effort required the whole school approach.

Furthermore, it stated that:

> In the transition to twenty-first century and with the resumption of the exercise of sovereignty by China over Hong Kong in 1997, there is a special need for schools to strengthen civic education, with a view to preparing students to become rational, active and responsible citizens in facing challenges .... (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 1)

The call for social, political and civic awareness for youth had been established in "School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims" by the Education and Manpower Branch in 1993. The mission for the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1996 was stated as:

> Through the school civic education programme, the student is expected to develop the skills of critical and reflective thinking, to experience a positive change in civic attitudes, to participate actively in civic affairs and to be ready to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens. (p. 1)

The aims and objectives of the 1985 "Guidelines" were outlined earlier in this chapter, stating that the goal of civic education was "rational, politically sensitive and responsible" citizenship (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 10). Schools had the task of developing political knowledge, skills, attitudes and competencies in students for them to guard their civic rights and responsibilities, to become critical thinkers to contribute to the nation-state and the world.

The aims of civic education in schools were:

> To enable students to understand how the individual, as a citizen, relates to the family, the neighbouring community, the regional community, the national community and the world; and to develop in them positive attitudes and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China so that they are ready to contribute to the betterment of the society, the state and the world. (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 5)

In addition, the aim was to assist students to "understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life" (p. 6). Last was the aim to foster critical thinking and problem-solving skills to enable social and political analysis based on objectivity and rationality.

Teaching Objectives: Kindergarten, Primary, and the Secondary Levels

The objectives ranged from the understanding the individual's relations with the social group to awareness of world affairs with commonalities between the primary and secondary levels. One was to facilitate pupils' recognition of their roles in social settings for primary, and for secondary it was similar but expanded – to provide students with "social and political skills and understanding" and to prepare them for a decision making role (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 8). Second for primary level was to understand the Hong Kong's way of life, harmonious living and the importance of development. Third for elementary level was to foster "understanding of Hong Kong's relation with the mother country, its political, economic and cultural ties with neighbours; and to develop concern for the major events of Hong Kong, China and the world" while secondary objectives were just about the latter part (concern for events) (p. 6). Fourth was to enable students to understand both the Chinese nation for primary level and culture for both. For secondary, to increase their "esteem for it" was added (p. 9). Fifth for primary level was to understand world issues like poverty, wars, resources, and local contribution. Sixth objective for both levels was to comprehend basically: democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to practice these. Seventh, unique to primary level was the goal to develop learning and life skills, curiosity to reach plausible conclusions and to be effective communicators. Eight for primary level was to "promote in students an understanding of the rights and duties of a citizen, and to foster a growing concern for community affairs so as to raise their sense of civic awareness" (p. 7). The secondary level objective was the same plus the understanding of the government and forms of communication between government and the public. The ninth for primary level was to "accept others, to respect different opinions" and to co-operate (p. 7). Similarly, for upper school were the objectives to build community identity, to build care for "the nation and the life of its people" and to be cognizant of international "relations and conflicts" (p. 9). Tenth for primary schools was also to do with social skills – attaining fairness and basic social rules, a socialization objective.

Civic Education Guidelines 1996: The conceptual framework, A Learner's Perspective and teaching methodology.

The suggested teaching methodology was student-centred with the school's role being the facilitation of student development and welfare. They were to be the "centre of all learning activities and the target of our educational provisions and efforts", including for civic education (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 11). It was insightfully noted that, because society is composed of individuals, "individual well being is intertwined with societal well being" so that education was important (p. 11).

Civic Values

Universal core concepts and values: individual and social.

Universal individual and social core values were spelt out philosophically in the 1996 Guidelines. Individual values were: the sanctity of life, human dignity, integrity and honesty, upholding the truth with courage, rationality, affectivity, aesthetics and creativity. Furthermore, it was added that to "exercise these qualities, one should be given the liberty to do so, and one's **individuality** must be respected" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 13). Social value concepts were equality, freedom, and mutuality for the betterment of society and humankind and work towards the common good, kindness and benevolence. It was surmised that both individual and social well being and societal and other society's well being were interdependent.

Sustaining individual and social values.

Sustaining values individually and socially which supported the core values were outlined. Individually, to "acquire, internalize and implement or apply … core values" reflection was vital in "in order to understand one's own value system" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 14). Furthermore, open-mindedness, determination, self-cultivation, principled morality, and self-regulation were important. Logically, it appears that this perspective is democratic in nature, because it stated that social sustaining values were needed in reaching core values such as "in order to allow individuals to be respected and to have liberty and freedom, the society should acknowledge the significance of **plurality**, render **tolerance** to diverse views, and promote **democracy**, which in itself values **freedom and liberty"** (p. 14). It purported that for justice to be truly operative in society, the law needed to be lucid, unambiguous, public, and applied in a consistent manner while its application must be transparent and follow standard procedures and respect recognized individual rights.

Self Realization and the Common Good

Again, logically, it seems safe to suggest that the 1996 Guidelines tried to find a common ground between individualism and collectivism. According to Lee (2004c), to Asians, a West-East dichotomy between individualism and collectivism was not an issue. The 1996 Guidelines theorized that "the two are not necessarily dichotomized and mutually exclusive," as both are valued to different extents in societies (Curriculum Development Council, p. 15). It explained that although in Chinese tradition collectivism was an important social value, the self was the commencement of civic values. The conclusion was that both individualism and collectivism were core values; they were interdependent, so that the best path to self-realization was through the common good. It is apparent that these Guidelines were an attempt to bridge the gap between Eastern and Western values. This is fitting as a Hong Kong perspective, considering its past. As support for this logic, Fok (1990) stated that in the 19th century, Hong Kong was a "centre for cultural and technological interchange between China and the West" (p. 1).

Civic Attitudes, Beliefs and Competencies

The 1996 Guidelines had civic attitudes, beliefs and competence sections. Civic attitudes and values were deemed as important. Commitment to the application of civic values was seen as necessary. Attitudes of civic and social concern to become participatory citizens, plus positive attitudes and empathy, respect and appreciation of different views, and optimism that participation could further society and the nation were all listed. Critical and creative thinking was also needed to contribute to "society and civilization." Civic beliefs were the betterment of human societies; individuals, action, group effort, values, and education can make a difference. To realize civic values, civic competence was seen as necessary. For the individual, reflective thinking, critical thinking and creativity were stated qualities, specifically:

> Moreover, the civic learner should be able to make **independent judgement**, by knowing how to **acquire and use information**, and by **assessing involvement**. All these require the civic learner to be competent in **self reflection and self cultivation** and to possess the ability of **self determination and regulation**. (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 19)

The latter two competencies involved upholding principles. "At the societal level," it was important to acquire: civic and social awareness, interest promotion, co-operation skills, empathy, communication, and corporate decision skills (p. 19).

Domestic and civic contexts for civics learning.

The domestic context for the civics program was explained in the 1996 Guidelines. These consisted of the family, the neighbouring community, the regional community, the national community and the international context. First, much like the 1985 Guidelines, family role and functions were stressed as a context for civic education. A sense of belonging and family pride were examples of attitudes. The "changing pattern of Hong Kong families" was noted, unlike in the 1985 Guidelines (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 21). The next context was the neighbouring community and participation in it, much like the earlier Guidelines, but here cultures and customs was added.

The third context was the regional and the national community; in Hong Kong's case, this was the HKSAR of China. Much like the 1985 Guidelines, the aim was national and cultural identity with the PRC; however, that Hong Kong was a colony was mentioned in the later edition. It was apparent that the central purpose of the 1996 Guidelines was to prepare students for post 1997 citizenship so that they would gain a national identity and so that they would sustain society and so that they would maintain stability. Section 3.31 spelt out the political objectives of the 1996 Guidelines:

> In the case of Hong Kong, the civic learner needs to know the cultural and political identity of Hong Kong as a Chinese community, as a British colony for a certain period, and as the HKSAR of China from July 1997. At a time of political transition, we need our citizens to actively adopt a new national identity, and to be participative and contributive to bring about smooth transitions, to sustain prosperity and stability and to further improve the Hong Kong society. In this case, it is important for the civic learner in Hong Kong to know and understand the present and future administrative systems of Hong Kong and the Basic Law, which is going to be the foundation for the administrative system of Hong Kong beyond 1997. To be participative and contributive, the civic learner should be encouraged to develop an interest in and awareness of the current social and political issues in the Hong Kong society, and the way one can participate in and contribute to the social and political affairs. (Curriculum Development Council, p. 23)

The national community section continued the same theme that the national identity defined. This theme was that one's civic identity and the national context of China was predominant. Furthermore, it maintained: "Such national spirit as nationalism and patriotism is essential not only for one's national identity and sense of belonging, but also cohesion and strength of one's own nation" (p. 23). The following Chinese topics were listed: ideologies, political, economic, administrative systems, social, political issues, participation, citizen's rights and responsibilities, history and culture.

Similar to what Morris (1990; 1991) had observed about earlier citizenship curriculum change in the 1985 "Guidelines," in the 1989 draft syllabus for Forms I-III social studies, as opposed to the 1981 and pre 1984 syllabi respectively, the 1985 civic "Guidelines" and the1989 junior secondary social studies syllabi provided identification with China to the point of inculcation, so that students would be "prepared for and left to accept their fate as future citizens of China" (p. 121; p. 136). The same can be said of the 1996 Guidelines, where the state, through the Education Department, was aiming to nation build through the engineered process of inculcating "a new national identity" that followed a top down approach. This approach has followed the consequences of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which sealed Hong Kong's political future.

International contexts for civics learning.

The international context for the civics program was clarified in the 1996 Guidelines. A new concept was added: it was the global village or interdependence of global citizens. This concept was similar to the 1985 "Guidelines" in including world organizations such as the United Nations; however, the divisions between economic systems were left out. This program listed the commonalities – mutuality, universal brotherhood, sisterhood and neighbourhood. Instead of problem solving, and analysis skills, respect for individuals and different social and ethnic groups was mentioned as were reflective questions that helped the student identify their viewpoint. Hong Kong's ties to the outside world and its cosmopolitan nature were not stressed. Logic suggests that, because of the focus on the nation, attention had been diverted away from Hong Kong and its international links.

The school as a civic learning agent.

With the disclaimer that there are many civic agents but the 1996 Guidelines were designed for schools, the role of the school as a civic learning agent was stressed. The school was described as a socialization institution. Much time was spent in school and it was where most people "establish and consolidate their fundamental values, attitudes and beliefs, and develop their competence" (Curriculum Development Council, p. 26). Much like the 1985 "Guidelines," civic or political education was advised to make use of both formal and informal learning activities. Civic lessons were an option, but the following subjects fell in the realm of civics: E.P.A., G.P.A., Social Studies, History and Liberal Studies. A cross-curricular approach was another option, to be taught across the subjects. These Guidelines stressed formal learning but, like the 1985 "Guidelines," acknowledged the hidden curriculum. The approach that schools took in dealing with students was correlated with civic consciousness and social attitudes, and school was seen as a microcosm of society. For example, "whether the school and classroom atmosphere is authoritarian or democratic may affect the civic learner's aspiration for an authoritarian or democratic society" (p. 28). The recommended prevailing school ethos was not advised.

School as a civic learning agent topics ranged from rules to sociological concepts. For the kindergarten to junior primary, the knowledge focus was on rules, such as rules for school and community life and students' right and responsibilities. For junior secondary school, topics were about the functions of schooling and school organizations. For upper secondary, knowledge concepts revolved around: school as a social and political agent of socialization, enculturation, acculturation, and human resource development; school as a social and political organization; and school as a just community. Examples of reflection questions included: Am I am constructive and responsible member of the school? Do I participate actively in the student union and its affiliated clubs or associations (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 40)? Some action (my role) highlight examples were: How can I encourage myself and my classmates to become constructive and responsible members of the school? Can I do something for my school?

Curriculum framework.

In addition to the knowledge, attitudes and skills sections included in the 1985 "Guidelines," the 1996 "Guidelines" included reflection, action, values, beliefs and competence around which the curriculum framework was organized. First, knowledge meant "the contents of teaching to be covered" (Curriculum Development Council, p. 31). Second, reflection meant making "learning meaningful to oneself, and to enhance comprehension and synthesis in learning" (p. 32). Responses were also encouraged, with suggestion questions for teachers. Third, action meant that students were encouraged to "discuss how to put learning into practice, and how to apply the knowledge to everyday life" or what they "can do" with "action: My Role" emphasized (p. 32). Fourth, values, beliefs and competence were imbedded in the contents.

Area I: family.

The family section of knowledge was similar to the 1985 "Guidelines." Family knowledge, awareness, attitudes, roles, functions, relationships, meaning, public participation and family as a social and political unit were included in the knowledge concepts. Similar to the earlier "Guidelines" there were platitudinous Confucian values such as "Hong Kong family values: e.g. respecting and caring parents, neo-extended family" (Curriculum Development Council, p.33).

Values were listed, which were identical for all the areas. They were: universal core individual values were: sanctity of life, truth, aesthetic capacity, honesty, human dignity, rationality, creativity, courage, liberty, affectivity, and individuality (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, pp. 33-41). The social ones were: equality, benevolence, kindness, freedom, common good, mutuality, justice, and betterment of mankind [*sic*]. Sustaining individual values were: self-reflection, self-regulation, self-cultivation, principled morality, self-determination, and open-mindedness. Sustaining social values were: plurality, due process, democracy, rationality, tolerance, common will, equal opportunities, human rights and responsibilities, culture and civilization heritage.

These values in the 1996 Guidelines were universal (example sanctity of life, honesty), a mixture of Western (example liberty, freedom) and Eastern values, with Confucius ideas such as benevolence and self-cultivation. Attitudes were being (and: having) optimistic, participatory, critical enculturation, creative disposition, appreciation, civic and social concern, empathetic, positive, respect, commitment to core and sustaining values. Beliefs were those in individuals, group effort, action, values and education that can make a difference, and the betterment of human societies. Competence skills were: self-reflection and cultivation, self-determination and regulation, empathy, critical and creative thinking, acquiring and using information, assessing involvement, corporate decision-making, making judgements, communication, co-operating, promoting interest, and upholding principles.

Area II: neighbouring community.

Knowledge concepts for neighbouring community ranged from knowing about neighbours for kindergarten level to district politics. Neighbourhood organizations, district administration, divisions and elections, welfare and services within districts, non-governmental organizations were amongst knowledge concepts up to junior secondary. Senior secondary neighbouring community topics were: concepts of neighbourhood privacy and mutuality; the role of district organizations in promoting cultural and recreational activities; intra- and inter-district relationships such as between districts and the Government; social and political participation in district affairs (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 34).

Reflection questions for senior secondary were "Am I able to make critical judgments about district affairs" and "Do I take an active role in social and political affairs of the district" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 34)? A purported Confucian or Asian value for the suggested action part was "What can I do to promote community harmony" (p. 34)?

Although it is impossible to suggest what any social studies teacher will "do" with a curriculum outline, it seems safe to say that these district community concepts were only minimally political at the upper school level for the topics were descriptive of the functions for government, instead of focussing to relevant theories and issues or suggestions in how to get involved. Merely asking students whether they are involved, or how to be actively involved does not necessarily provide the wherewithal or inclination to do so.

Area III: regional community.

The regional community topics for the 1996 Guidelines ranged from "I am a member of the Hong Kong society" for kindergarten to HKSAR history, political system and justice for secondary. The primary topics were cultural, with Children's Rights added, and "Hong Kong as a SAR of PRC, e.g. HKSAR flag, HKSAR emblem" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 35). The emphasis was on identification with the Chinese culture and Hong Kong as part of China, significantly, because the Guidelines appeared before the handover. Senior primary topics were Hong Kong society; Hong Kong-China relationships; rights and responsibilities in Hong Kong; the Hong Kong government (structure and functions); welfare and services; representative government and elections; communication between government and the people; groups in society; law and order; and current social issues. Junior secondary topics were the same as before, but more detailed and included a topic about the Hong Kong citizen (origins and identity, rights and responsibilities, and the Hong Kong spirit). Third was political development: a) Sovereignty and legitimacy before and after 1997, and the Basic Law; b) Structure and organization of the government with the legal system and bureaucracy; c) Checks and balances: separation of powers, e.g. legislative, executive and judiciary, prevention of power abuse such as ICAC, and the mass media. Fourth were means and modes of social and political participation. Five was contemporary and current issues. Six was issues in relation to a just society, which were: a) individual rights and responsibilities; b) democracy and election; c) rule of law and justice; d) freedom and limitations; e) equality and discrimination; and f) concepts of charters. In general, the junior secondary focused on the local political system, with an introduction of democratic concepts.

Senior secondary regional community topics for the 1996 Guidelines were about Hong Kong's political system. First was Hong Kong society, and these were the topics: a) culture and tradition; and b) contemporary and current issues. Second was political authority and legitimacy with the subtopics: a) Hong Kong as British Colony 1842-6/1997 and b) Hong Kong as SAR of PRC from 7/1997. Three was central-local government relationship beyond 1997: this area focused on one country, two systems. Four was constitutional documents and the legal system: the topics here were a) Letter

Patent and the Royal Instructions; b) the Basic Law; c) the Hong Kong legal system and Common Law. Five was social and political participation of Hong Kong citizens, and were: a) awareness of social and political issues; b) means and modes of participation; and c) contributions of public opinions (the consultation mechanism, demonstrations, press, and etcetera). Six focussed on elements of a just society, example human rights, democracy, rule of law, freedom, justice, and equality Seven highlighted the means of realising a just society: a) constitution and the legal system (limited government, protection of human rights, e.g. Hong Kong Bill of Rights, children's rights, judiciary and law enforcement); b) democratic structure (separation of powers, checks and balances, and elections); and c) freedom of speech (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, pp. 35-36). Example reflection and action questions in this topic were: Am I aware of issues in relation to rights and responsibilities of people in Hong Kong? Do I regard Hong Kong as a just society? What can I do to uphold the rights and fulfil the responsibilities as a Hong Kong citizen? What is my role in making Hong Kong a just society (p. 36)? As evident from the topics, the last section was quite a comprehensive list of HKSAR Government political and legal system with a historical context and with the 1997 changes.

Area IV: national (Chinese) community.

Area IV in the 1996 Guidelines was the national or Chinese community. Kindergarten included the concepts: I am Chinese, festivities and ethnic groups in China. Junior Primary had the topics of Chinese nationhood (symbols of China, anthem, flag, and etcetera); Chinese cities and places; festivities and customs; children's life in China. Senior secondary topics were about China's society and government. First was Chinese nationhood, and included a) recent historical events and the founding of the PRC and b) traditions (origins and development of the Chinese nation, ideas and religion, culture and are, achievements and inventions) (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 37). The second topic was major contemporary and current social and political issues in China, example modernisation issues. Three was the Government institutions in China, which highlighted a) structure of the State government and b) levels of government. Fourth were concepts of government: these concepts were a) authority and legitimacy (sovereignty; government and the governed, example consent, social contract, rights and responsibilities; separation and balance of powers; checks and balances); b) constitution and legal system; c) different types of representative government and electoral system; and d) social and political participation of the public (means and models or participation; contribution of public opinion). These concepts were not necessarily to do with the nation, but served as an introduction for political science concepts. Some of these were democratic and Western (the respect for sovereignty practiced in Europe after the Congress of Vienna, the social contract attributed to J. J. Rousseau, C. Montesquieu and the separation and balance of powers).

The first national community senior secondary area IV knowledge topic was Chinese nationhood (ideology, political system, and economic system) (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 37). The second topic was political authority and legitimacy with the following sub-topics: a) Chinese constitution; b) Government institutions in China (bureaucracy and the Cadre system); c) democratic centralism; d) state and the Chinese Communist Party (structure, functions and role of the Party); and e) social and political participation and recruitment (participation methods and communication). The third topic was Chinese citizenship (identity; national pride, nationalism and patriotism; responsibilities and rights). The fourth was the concept of nation and state: here students were to study a) political ideologies; b) political systems; c) economic systems; and d) nationhood and state. The fifth topic was concepts of governments (bureaucracy; accountability and redress systems; public policy making). The fifth topic was concepts about citizenship. The subtopics were: a) individual, political, economic, and other rights and b) individual, civic and other responsibilities.

The 1996 Guidelines national community area IV reflection example questions were about Chinese history, culture, lifestyle, nationhood and development. Reflection example highlights for national community for kindergarten were about Chinese festival stories and "which type of ethnic life in China" is appealing (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 38). Junior primary reflection questions were similar: they focused on Chinese festival and customs and lifestyle of Children in China. Senior primary reflection questions were: Which Chinese historical figure do I admire most? Which are the most commemorative Chinese historical events to me? In what way am I proud of Chinese ways of life? Junior secondary reflection questions included: In what ways am I proud of being a Chinese? Which Chinese traditional values are most significant to me? What is my role in the developments process of China, and Hong Kong's role (for senior secondary)? Also for senior secondary, the reflection topic was: What does nationhood mean to me (p. 38)?

The national community topic called for action that focussed upon 'my role,' which had to do with the Chinese children's lifestyle and the Chinese tradition (festivals and customs) and major historical events commemoration and figure emulation for the primary level. The action questions for junior secondary were: What can I do to enhance the sense of pride in being Chinese? How can I uphold significant Chinese traditional values? What can I do to enhance my understanding of the current issues in China? How can I participate in the modernisation of China (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 38)? Senior secondary questions were: What can I do to promote nationhood among my schoolmates? What can I do to enhance the promotion of the common good in China (p. 38)?

My analysis of the curriculum is that the national community area topics apparently were intended to foster the Chinese culture, to identity with the Chinese nation, and promote China. These topics have nationalist overtones with appeals to the emotion, such as being proud of the Chinese ways of life. These are juxtaposed against the 1985 "Guidelines," which also mentioned the Chinese culture, and love and pride for it. Both areas discuss Hong Kong as a cosmopolitan city (defined as a fusion of cultures). It is apparent that a unified sense of nationhood was promoted. Students in the 1996 Guidelines were to reflect on whether they are proud of being a Hong Kong citizen, but the unique and cosmopolitan nature of the city-state was not an item.

Area V: international context for civic learning: international community.

The international context for civic learning in the 1996 Guidelines, or the international community topics, were based on diversity in the world, the concept of the Global Village and international organisations. The knowledge topics for kindergarten were: one was a world of multi-nations and multi-ethnicity; two was life of children in different parts of the world; and third was festivities of worldwide significance. Knowledge topics for junior primary included life festivities and customs of different nations and peoples, interactions between nations and peoples, and international activities.

Senior primary topics under the international context were international organizations such as the United Nations; promotion of international exchanges, understanding and collaborations; equality and universal brotherhood and sisterhood; and significant global issues, example food, war and peace, women's status. Junior secondary topic one was: a world of varieties, example nations, ethnicities, religions, languages, cultures. Two was heritage of human civilization. Three was historical events of worldwide significance. Four was significance global issues, example population, and wealth disparity. Five included functions of international organizations, with examples such as political and legal. Senior secondary knowledge topic was: concepts of global citizenship: a) Global Village and b) human rights. Human rights topics were the following: history and concepts of individual rights, minority rights, gender rights, economic and cultural rights, development and national rights etcetera. In addition, protection of right, example related documents, including Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Inter-Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and organisations were also listed. The last set of human rights topics was global responsibilities, example peace making, environmental protection mutual aid, eradication of poverty, promotion of health, promotion of mutual understanding and exchanges (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 39). A reflection example for junior secondary was: In what ways is the understanding of the development of human civilization important to me? The reflection examples for senior secondary included: Will I identify myself as a global citizen and why? In what way do I respect human rights in my daily life? How far am I aware of the plights of minorities and their rights in society (p. 39)?

In summary, this international citizenship education segment of the civics areas, with the human rights education segment, suggests that the HKSAR was setting its future citizens off distinctly from PRC citizens (as the PRC was not a signatory of the United Nations Human Rights Declaration). One can logically assume that Hong Kong was working to maintain its rights in the face of the take over.

The 1998 Civic Education Syllabus

The 1998 Civic Education Syllabus civics curriculum was established largely on the 1996 Guidelines (Vickers, 2003). It was organized upon six topics: family; neighbourhood; regional community; national community; international or global community; and citizenship and civil society (Tse, 2004; Vickers). Like the earlier Guidelines, the focus was on moral responsibilities in terms of the family and community (Vickers). An aim was for students to understand "the special features of Chinese culture and the structure of the Chinese government" (CDC, 1998, as cited in Vickers, 2003, p. 51). Like the earlier version, "guiding questions" and "reflections" were given for classroom discussion. Examples were:

> To what extent do I understand the traditional Chinese values? Do I posses any of them? What traditional family values do Chinese people hold? What are the meanings of these values to families nowadays? What feelings do I have towards the rivers and lands of our country? Am I proud of being Chinese? What will I do to promote my sense of pride in being a Chinese? What are the major thought and beliefs in being a Chinese? What creations and inventions of China have had an impact on the world? What attitudes should I have during the ceremony of raising the national flag and playing the national anthem? (1998, CDC, p. 51, as cited in Vickers, p. 51)

Pedagogy focused on participatory learning activities, reflection, open climate and mutual respect in the classroom, neutral teaching strategies for controversial issues, extra-curricular activities for social issues (as cited in Tse, 2004). Assessment and evaluation included knowledge, attitudes, values, competence and application of civic learning (as cited in Tse).

As Vickers (2003) had observed, by the late 1990s, a new policy resolve that had been non-existent for twenty years became "an assertion of the role of education in nation-building and the inculcation of an uncritical, state-centred version of Chinese patriotism" (p. 49). Vickers quoted the Education Commission's 1999 Consultation Document as representative of the post 1997 stand on Hong Kong regarding its identity:

> Of social significance is the fact that reunification with the motherland confirms the Chinese national identity of the Hong Kong people. Under the principle of "One country, Two systems" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", our young people need to understand more about the culture, as well as the present and future developments of our motherland. They also need to appreciate the unique geographical and political characteristics of Hong Kong to the full, and to

> build on the best of East and West, so as to develop a society which is outward-looking, culturally confident, united, free and democratic. (as cited in Vickers, p. 49)

As Vickers argued, 'patriotic education' had increased since 1997. This twinned with 'traditional Chinese values' under the first Chief Executive Chee Hwa, like the colonial government. Thus, the new one had shied away from promoting a unique local identity. Furthermore, extreme patriotism in the guise of nationalism is an oxymoron within a free and democratic society.

Increasing Nationalism in the Civics Curriculum

Civic education in Hong Kong, especially since 1996, has had nationalistic overtones. Tse (2004) also observed nationalism and patriotism since the handover. This nationalism and patriotism can be seen specifically in civic education's primary objectives, as well as increased knowledge about the Basic Law and to endorse the idea of "one-country, two-systems" as well as an emphasis on global citizenship. The twentieth century, with two world wars, has demonstrated two glaring examples of the consequences of dictatorial regimes combined with nationalism. One was the National Socialist Party in Germany led by Hitler, who ended the Weimar Republic's fledgling democracy and, in the aftermath of the failed democratic transition, led to Hitler's call for love of the fatherland and for changes to 'social education.' As Hitler announced in a speech to the German Reichstag (1937): "Therefore it is the duty of the folk-community to see that this education and higher training must always be along lines that help the community to fulfil its own task, which is the maintenance of the race and nation."

The Asian example is Japan's nationalism that had rallied under the Emperor Hirohito so that even Manchuria and Hong Kong were occupied. Although, in Hong Kong, this education policy is mild and HKSAR is not a dictatorship, nevertheless nationalist education can be used as a tool for authoritarian systems. As shown in the history and politics chapter, HKSAR can be viewed as a pseudo-democracy (White, 2001). Growth in nationalist education has occurred in the last two decades. Moreover, convergence in this policy would lead to inculcation, not education for democracy where students can make their own minds up about their identity. For example, if students want to choose to be citizens of Hong Kong first, as some surveys have shown (Ho, Chau, Chiu, & Peng, 2003; Lau & Kuan, 1988), or if they prefer to view themselves as part of a Cosmopolitan City as stated in the 1985 "Guidelines."

As evidenced by 2005 Moral and Civic Education supporting materials posted on the Education and Manpower Bureau (E.M.B.) web site, the trend is towards increasing nationalism of the PRC brand. Evidence on the E.M.B. web site exists of the stress on the cultural-national policy. The introduction of the Moral and Civic Education (M.C.E.) resources web page lists, based on the "Basic Education Curriculum Guide: Building on Strengths" published by the Curriculum Development Council, stated that M.C.E. should "cultivate positive values and attitudes." The five main values included perseverance, respect for others, responsibility, national identity and commitment" (E.M.B., n.d.e, 2005). Although Hong Kong is officially bilingual (English and Chinese) and although all the Personal, Social and Humanities Education curricula were posted on the web in both languages, except Chinese History, and under Four Key Tasks, the supporting materials were in Chinese only (except for a link with a brief introduction). Moreover, the 1998 Civic Education Syllabus is missing, which later became Moral and Civics Education.

Under Moral and Civic Education, the E.M.B. (n.d.c) web site (stating that "all the policies and documents are made by the government") posted this latest news. They were: The National flag and HKSAR flag; the Youth Summer Camping program; Education on May Fourth Movement; and an Audio-visual, poster and booklet competition on the Chinese policy of "Sustainable Development." The latter two had links, with item three being described as a "Chinese historical event." The Wikipedia (n.d.) link, with a warning of non-neutrality, called the event as the start of "the upsurge of nationalist feeling, with unity of purpose among patriotic Chinese of all classes" (para. 1). Other activities included Inter-school Basic Law Game Booth design competition (to understand the Basic Law and to participate in its commemoration); a new web site about sex education; and seminars of the "Dialogue with the Celebrity – In Search of the Meaning of Life through Social Services, Science and Arts" (distinguished speakers meet with students to inspire them and to engage them in thought about life values).

Other new sections included Reform on Moral and Civic Education was aimed at: understanding one's responsibility for home, for the society and for the country;

understanding one's identity as a citizen, trying to contribute to the whole society and country; developing the skills of critical thinking and the ability of independence; communicating in both English and Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin); developing the habit of reading independently; establishing healthy living style; and developing one's interests in sports activities and the ability to appreciate arts. Five values were to be promoted (2001-2002 to 2005-2006): these were persistence, respecting others, sense of responsibility, self-identification of the citizenship, and the spirit of bearing. Web-based resources included "How to raise the National flag" and in English, lesson plans on "The Timeline for the Basic Law", and "To obey public regulations" (E.M.B., n.d.d, 2005).

Developments in the New Millennium

By 2000, social and humanities subjects existed under Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE) key learning area (KLA) with "related elements incorporated in cross-curricular programmes on moral and civic education, environmental education, sex education, media education" and so forth (HKSAR of PRC, 2000, p. 2). PSHE contained the following subjects: General Studies (integrated with the KLAs of Science Education and Technology Education) in Junior Primary and Senior Primary; Chinese History, History, Economic and Public Affairs (E.P.A.), Geography, Civic Education, Religious Education, Social Studies in Junior Secondary; Economics, Liberal Studies, Government and Public Affairs, and Travel and Tourism (in addition to the subjects offered at the Junior Secondary; Religious Studies was taught at that level instead of Religious Education). Integrated Humanities (Secondary 1-3 and 4-5) was introduced in 2002, as was the KLA.

This same year, Moral and Civic Education became a key task instead of Civic Education. The name was changed from civics in 2002, a move in line with the Asian method (Lee, 2004b). In addition, what was once called Religious Studies (Buddhist Studies/Christianity/Ethics & Religious Studies) became Ethics and Religious Studies. Social education was seen as important even before 1975 and was usually amalgamated into subjects like history, geography and religious studies or civics. As Morris, McClelland, and Man (1997) pointed out, Social Studies became a subject during the early 1970s due to the influence of British and American progress in the field (and two consultants from the United Kingdom and Canada played the role of advocating social studies), but was soon sabotaged by History, Geography and E.P.A. inspectors. Furthermore, social studies was not an examination subject for form 4 and 5. Implementation in schools dropped from a third in 1985 to less than a quarter of schools by 1990 (Morris, McClelland, & Man). As of 2005, no new Social Studies curricula had been adopted since 1997.

Key Learning Areas

The curriculum in HKSAR, China was divided up into key learning areas. Personal, Social and Humanities Education, was a key learning area (PSHE KLA), from kindergarten to secondary level. The other key learning areas included Chinese Language Education, English Language Education, Mathematics Education, Science Education, Technology Education, Arts Education, and Physical Education. Four key tasks complemented the KLAs: These were Moral and Civic Education, Reading to Learn, Project Learning, and Information Technology for Interactive Learning (EMB, 2005).

Moral and Civic Education was a KLA. A KLA was integral to the curriculum with the rationale that "It is founded on fundamental and connected concepts within major fields of knowledge which should be acquired by all students" (Curriculum Development Council, 2002, p. 3). A KLA provided a contextual background for the development of generic skills, values and attitudes and new knowledge that were incorporated through educational methods and activities. Generic skills in all the KLAs included communication skills, critical thinking skills, creativity, collaboration skills, information technology skills, numeracy skills, problem-solving skills, self-management skills and self-study skills. Values and attitudes included perseverance, respect for others, responsibility, national identity and commitment. These commitments were imbued in the 1996 and later civics guidelines as a form of character education with a form of nation building education.

The Curriculum Development Committee acknowledged that society has undergone many changes and development, creating the need for life-long learners, where education must provide youth with a relevant education. Therefore:

> Students must acquire a solid body of knowledge and also learn how to think and how to be flexible in solving problems and tackling issues. They need to have an in-depth understanding of themselves, the local community, the nation and the

> world if they are to become confident, informed and responsible persons. (Curriculum Development Council, 2002, pp. 3-4)

Personal, Social and Humanities Education

Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE) was defined broadly and generically with the moral and social aims revealed, with the omission of the political realm and moral and social development through "enquiry and decision-making processes" in varying "relationship contexts between the individual and society" (HKSAR of PRC, 2000, p. 3). Meaning was to be made between individual, societal and environment problems. The creation of PHSE recognized the complexities and fast-paced changes in modern life. In answer to these challenges, it was believed that development of life-long learning was a necessity as was the establishment of integrated core knowledge and flexible thinking skills and multiple perspectives. The conception behind PSHE was the study of humans and their world. Improvement of critical thinking and problem solving was crucial, as was development of a feeling of national identity and knowledge of important issues from the local to the global perspective. The essential framework was to deepen understanding of the humanities and social sciences.

The development of a balanced, integrated curriculum was intended to create a smooth transition from primary, through junior secondary, to senior secondary with less content overlap and a reduction on content focused learning in general studies at the primary level and, the secondary level, moving away from narrow subject concentration and incorporating more content in the area of values and Chinese history and culture. The methodology behind PSHE emphasized participatory learning and enquiry skills as opposed to content centred learning.

A major factor behind the operation of PSHE was to promote the personal and social growth of students. To facilitate this, the teaching philosophy emphasized a progressive learning paradigm that highlighted developing students' "ability and motivation for 'learning to know', 'learning to do', 'learning to live together', and 'learning to be'"(Curriculum Development Council 2002, p. 6). Active learning, collaborative and independent study, and learning to learn were key points in the development of the PSHE curriculum. This meant including a large range of activities, within and beyond the formal curriculum in order to deepen social participation and responsibility.

The rationale behind PSHE was the promotion of students' personal values in relation to personal, social, and civic responsibilities (Curriculum Development Council 2002). Values education was seen as a correlation between knowledge gained in the classroom and social situations in the real world. Moral education was also a major focus as the rapid changes and progress in the world placed new stresses and challenges on citizens. Amongst the major subjects to be covered were history and culture with the aim of creating respect for their own cultural heritage and traditions, for the nation, respect for cultural diversity, and knowledge of the world and the global setting. In particular, the syllabus stressed that students' needed to enhance their knowledge of China and its history and culture so as to become positive contributory citizens of Hong Kong, China, and the world at large.

The syllabus recognized that implementation could be varied and flexible. The syllabus provided schools with the tools and adaptability needed to implement their own curriculum programs and processes by demonstrating the skills and values that needed to be met. It was emphasised that a strong linkage needed to be created between the learning aims of the PSHE KLA in the subjects of Chinese History, Economic and Public Affairs, Geography and History and moral and civic education so as to "reduce content overlap and develop students' generic skills, moral values and national identity" (Curriculum Development Council, 2002, p. 14).

PSHE - the structure of the curriculum

Within PSHE several broad fundamental learning targets were implemented through learning objectives arranged within six strands of the curriculum model (Curriculum Development Council 2002). These strands were designed to allow for integrated, coherent, enquiry into the fundamental outlook of PSHE. They were formulated so as to bring in topics from a broad range of subject perspectives and link a variety of competencies and skills into a holistic viewpoint. In this way, they differed from traditional subject orientations and were intended to develop interdisciplinary knowledge and appreciation.

The first strand, entitled Personal and Social Development, sought, from an individual and social perspective, to develop and address self-esteem and self-management, personal health and physical and emotional change and growth, positive interpersonal relationships, and issues of sexuality. This strand incorporated content from Personal and Social Education, Health Education, Civic Education, and Ethics and Religious Education (Curriculum Development Council 2002).

The second strand, Time, Continuity and Change, entailed an understanding of historical processes and events of the past (local community, Hong Kong, and China) and their relationship to the present. It developed concepts of historical change as well as links to the present and insight into different views on events and their causes and historical implications. From the perspective of the relationship of people and time, the main content was integrated from History Education, with further knowledge from Geography, Civic, and Ethics and Religious Education. As a further note, Chinese history and culture was to be the major focus and instructions to schools were to "devote one quarter of the total curriculum time spent on PSHE … to the study and learning of Chinese history and culture" (Curriculum Development Council 2002, p. 42), with Chinese as the language of instruction.

Third, Culture and Heritage aimed at examining the nature and fundamental structures of culture and traditions, their growth, foundations, and continued development in the modern world (Curriculum Development Council 2002). Local cultures and Chinese culture as a whole were discussed and examined, as were individual family traditions and origins. The strand also investigated cultural dynamics and the varieties of cultural communities. Placing people within a cultural setting, this strand involved knowledge from History, Geography, and Ethics and Religious Education.

Fourth, Place and Environment developed the concepts of natural and human geography and the relationship between the two as well as ideas of conservation and development aimed at sustainable growth (Curriculum Development Council 2002). The major characteristics of Hong Kong, Mainland China, and areas within the Asia-Pacific region were discussed as well as the distribution of natural and human phenomena such as climate, population patterns, and agriculture. From the perspective of people's relationship to space and the environment, the strand incorporated learning from Geography, Economics, Environmental, and History Education.

Resources and Economic Activities, the fifth strand, placed the emphasis on defining the relationship between people and the functional world (Curriculum Development Council 2002). This perspective included investigating resources, modes of production and consumerism, the world of work, and principles of economic exchange. Trade patterns, locally and globally, were presented and the varieties of industries present in Hong Kong examined. Other areas for discussion included productivity, financial industries, and government involvement in the allocation of resources. Knowledge was integrated from Economics, Geography, and Career Education.

Social Systems and Citizenship, the final strand, focused on social groupings of people (Curriculum Development Council 2002). Examining political and social systems, this final strand was concerned with issues of rights, duties, and the responsibilities that went along with citizenship. It also addressed law, social norms, and values as well as the fundamentals of identity within the local, national, and international frameworks. The Basic Law and its relationship to Hong Kong's citizens' rights and duties was a major theme, as was the relationship between the government and the people of Hong Kong and their identity as both residents of Hong Kong and China. The strand included a current awareness component and a global perspective. Knowledge was integrated from Civic, Political, and Ethics and Religious Education.

Government and Public Affairs Syllabus (Secondary 4-5)

The Government and Public Affairs Syllabus (G.P.A.) was very much a civics syllabus and focused heavily on HKSAR's and People's Republic of China's (PRC) Governments and the HKSAR's government's role in the economy. Morris (1990;1991) traced the beginning of this subject to 1984 when the Education Department in Hong Kong, as well as the Hong Kong Examinations Committee, on the behest of legislators, with public and lobby group support, who argued for political education and a 'democratic education,' announced plans for political education through G.P.A. The syllabus was first examined at the A-levels in 1988 and a year later at the Certificate level.

The intention behind the syllabus was to nurture a sense of students' civic duties and social responsibilities and participation through rational analysis and an understanding of social dynamics and the influences acting upon society. As the introduction stated, "such kind of awareness and participation become more important in view of the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC)" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b., p. 6).

Essentially, the G.P.A. syllabus was designed to provide a core grounding in the principles, functions, and elements of the HKSAR Government and the concepts that lay behind the government and which were to be taught in concrete, functional terms. The syllabus was organized around seven topics (see Table 6-3). The aims of these topics were to promote understanding of Hong Kong society and public policy, the institutions of the HKSAR Government and administration and their relationship with each other, and to develop an understanding for the principles and functions that underlay the administrative and public structure of the HKSAR. As stated, "Knowledge of the basic facts of the Government of the HKSAR and an understanding of the related concepts" was required (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b., p. 6).

Related political terms and concepts were encouraged to be taught, with information having been updated by the Government of HKSAR. In addition, the stated aims were to create an appreciation of the relationship of the Central Government of the PRC with the HKSAR and knowledge of the political structure and institutions of the PRC. This included studying the Central People's Government (CPG) of the PRC, the Communist Party of China (CPC), and new developments in PRC affecting HKSAR in order for students to understand the two political entities and participation in "one country, two systems" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b., p. 6). Economics was also highlighted in relation to government and public policies as was developing students' social and civic consciousness with analysis and evaluation of social policies. The aim was for students to "develop skills in suggesting possible alternatives and participating effectively and responsibly in the processes related to the issues and policies" (p. 6).

The first topic introduced in the syllabus was the resumption of sovereignty by the PRC over Hong Kong. The objectives behind this topic were to develop an understanding of the concept of "one country, two systems," and the fundamentals of "the Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong and autonomy of the HKSAR" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 10). Included, as objectives, were familiarity with the Sino-British Joint Declaration and appreciation of the importance and meaning of the Basic Law. Instructional methods included research into press reports on the Sino-British negotiations, class discussions on the relevancy and importance of the Basic Law for Hong Kong, measures by which to educate the population of its terms, as well as methods by which Hong Kong's autonomy was realized and board displays on issues such as relations between the central government of China and the Government of Hong Kong.

The second topic of the syllabus was the HKSAR and its political structure. The objectives for this topic were a general understanding of how governments work, including their forms, functions, and constitutions, and, more specifically, knowledge of the political structure of the HKSAR, including the Basic Law and its relation to the PRC's constitution, and the responsibilities and duties of key elements within the Government and administration such as "the Chief Executive, the Executive Council, the Legislative Council and the executive authorities" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 12), as well as the responsibilities of district organizations. Suggested teaching methodologies included class discussions on the meaning of constitutions (including studying the constitutions of the PRC and the US), class debates, research into the functions and makeup of the HKSAR's political and administrative leadership, and observation of legislative elections and attendance at council and district meetings.

Topic three was the government and the people. Within this topic, students were expected to develop an understanding of the rights and duties of citizenship, the functions of representative government, the electoral process, methods by which governments connect with the public, and the formation, roles, and importance of the media, pressure groups, public opinion, and political parties, with application to the framework of the HKSAR. Included was instruction on civil, political, and social rights and duties. These included "the rights to a minimal economic and social well-being" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 17). Electoral methods were discussed, including direct and indirect elections, maintaining free elections, and their importance to government accountability. The evolution of representative government in Hong Kong from the 1980s was one element within the topic as was the development of political parties and methods by which fact and opinion could be differentiated in political discourse. Teaching methods included class discussions, class debates, conducting public opinion surveys, case studies of interest groups, visits and interviews with political figures and parties.

Topic four of the syllabus concerned itself with issues of law and justice. Objectives were defined as appreciating the importance of the rule of law and the maintenance of justice in society. Also examined were the identification of the sources of law in Hong Kong, analysis of the concepts of legal penalties and rehabilitation, and Hong Kong's specific correctional and remedial institutions and organizations. This involved looking at the doctrine of law and justice, human and legal rights, courts and their functions, and prisons and prisoner rehabilitation. Instructional methods included examining and analysing press reports, visiting law courts and observing trials, role playing, and inviting "a speaker from the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society to give a talk on the evils of crime" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 22).

The fifth topic was concerned with the government and the economy (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 4). Its objectives were to provide understanding of the role of governments in market economies and, in particular, the basic framework of the government of Hong Kong's economic policy. These objectives involved studying government budget policy and priorities and how this affected the people and community of the HKSAR, including taxation and public expenditures. Instructional method included role-playing and debating budgetary decisions and research and analysis of government policies and how they affect the people of Hong Kong.

Topic six covered the area of major social issues and policies (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b., p. 26). The major objectives were defined as gaining knowledge of the impact and duties of Government in society, identifying the major players involved in policy creation and how they are implemented, understanding consultative processes in policy formulation, appreciating the diversity of opinion and conflict in social policy, and recognizing the major social issues evident in Hong Kong and using critical thinking in analyzing these social issues. Students were expected to identify key roles in policy formation, especially the Government's responsibilities, key agencies involved in social planning, and the major social policies implemented in Hong Kong and identify possible alternatives.

The final topic of the syllabus was the relationship between the PRC and the HKSAR. The objectives of this topic were to understand "the central government structure of the People's Republic of China and the role played by the Communist Party Of China in the political system of the PRC" and identify the "recent developments in China and their impact on the HKSAR" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 28). This involved analysis of the constitution of the PRC, the structure and function of the central state governing institutions such as the National People's Congress (NPC), State Council, and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the organization of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and its governing bodies such as the National Congress, the Central Committee, and the Political Bureau, the relations between the state and the CPC, and economic and political policies of the PRC and their affects on Hong Kong. Teaching methods included studying and analysing the relevant documents (example the P.R.C.'s constitution), following the meetings and activities of the central governing bodies through media reports, inviting local deputies of the NPC for class presentations, sharing knowledge of other regions of China within class, and studying the interconnections between China and Hong Kong.

Economic and Public Affairs (Secondary 4-5)

The current form 4-5 Economic and Public Affairs syllabus was designed to prepare students to be active, responsible members of Hong Kong's economic and political environment (see Table 6-4). The systems approach adopted for this syllabus detailed an input-output model for the study of political systems and saw the need for students to have "sound knowledge of consumer education, elementary supply and demand analysis, rights and duties of citizens, basic facts of the Government of the HKSAR as well as a general understanding of the current local economic and political environment" (EMB, n.d.a, p. 6). Although the introduction stated that the intention was to develop responsible and aware citizens, three of the four sections were concerned with the individual as consumer, as producer, and the relationships between the two. Only the final section, the individual as a citizen, concerned itself with the individual in terms of political, civic, and social concerns. The focus on economic concepts such as consumer rights, modes of production, types of business ventures, supply and demand, and relations between employers and employees reinforced the image of economic priorities in terms of the capitalist economy and its maintenance.

Critique

As a critique, the G.P.A. made no mention of other ideologies or political systems, making the syllabus non-holistic. There was an omission of the political spectrum or of the range of political set-ups from direct democracy to totalitarian regimes. The information provided was very limited, and students were not encouraged to research alternative political systems. I will analyse this lack of encouragement in the next chapter as well as the pedagogical activities upon which the process is based, but circumscribed by the topic frameworks - Hong Kong SAR and the PRC.

The focus was on understanding the functioning of the HKSAR government and knowledge about the PRC government. Liberal democracies were mentioned, but their underlying philosophies or ideologies were not, under the guidance notes of "meaning and characteristics of representative governments" (examples UK and US) (EMB, n.d.b., p. 18). The syllabus was technical or functional, and non contentious. A suggested activity was to debate medical and health issues. Additionally, students were to construct charts to show health expenditure. Students were also informed about government responsibilities, which seemed to my eye to be trite and non-controversial. If the 1970s curricula were apolitical, the G.P.A. syllabus topics, although about government structure and administrative functioning, were not conducive to controversial topics, hence, it was depoliticised.

What the Changes Mean

Civics and the social studies in Hong Kong have reflected the political changes that have taken place in the last 20 years. The Sino-British Agreement, and impeding sovereignty change, as noted by Morris (1990; 1991), had spurred calls, primarily from the government, to prepare students for PRC citizenship to guarantee a smooth transfer. Therefore, the curricula became more focused on Chinese cultural heritage and the PRC's political and economic system. Other influential parties, mainly the local community, requested that the curriculum develop the public's political knowledge and involvement to ensure a degree of autonomy post 1997.

Morris (1990; 1991) specified that, "the curriculum has been used to support attempts to promote a more representative government in Hong Kong" (p. 116; p. 123). Analysis of the 1995 Civics "Guidelines" reveals the influence of these forces: the themes of Chinese culture, connections with the PRC, and concepts of democracy were mentioned, though vaguely. This reflection was focussed on the time of democratisation, albeit with baby steps.

Another process taking place in society was the Hong Kong identity factor that was reflected in the 1995 "Guidelines." By 1996, the Guidelines emphasised Chinese identity, as opposed to the local one. Democracy was sidelined as a minor topic under government concepts and representative government. This is perhaps because the Basic Law framework placed political reform in a straightjacket. These Guidelines had a moralizing tone about inculcating universal core values, and both emphasized roles in society. By 2002, the name had changed to Moral and Civil Education, an Asian twinning of the two (Lee, 2004b). Current supporting topics and teacher materials have moral overtones, and national identity is a key value in order to increase patriotism and understanding about China. The 1985 G.P.A. topics for Form VI were introductory political science concepts, and mainly about the Hong Kong Government, with some concepts of democracy (Table 6-1).

As can be seen from Table 6-2, further political science concepts and the Hong Kong, American, British and Chinese systems were prescribed in depth in Form VI-VII. However, such detailed and even-handed treatment of political science concepts, between different case studies, some of which were liberal democracies, is not evident in any of the current syllabi in use. The G.P.A. current program dwells on the HKSAR government and China.

Fundamental political science concepts are scarce, with representative governments and related concepts such as elections being sub-themes under "Government and the People" (Table 6-3). No underlying philosophies are mentioned to promote depth in understanding. Proportionally, most time is spent learning about HKSAR government and the HKSAR government's relationship with the PRC, with only

10% of class time to be spent on representative government (Figure 6-1). If one examines E.P.A., the focus was on maintaining the capitalist economy (three out of four themes). Political concepts are rarely mentioned, except in the sense of a citizen's rights and responsibilities (Table 6-4).

The syllabi in use seem to a social studies' eye deficient in political science concepts and ideologies, and focused on the workings of the HKSAR and PRC governments.' A well-rounded view of topics, such as was attempted two decades ago, is absent. How are students to become an informed, politically literate electorate for the Legislative Council or other bodies? And, how are they to help maintain the autonomous status of Hong Kong if political education is narrow?

Appendix

THEME:	CONTENT:	
POLITICAL SCIENCE	• Constitutions • Types and functions of government • The legislature, executive and judiciary • Political parties and interest groups • Local government: ▪ Examples drawn from mainly the UK, US, and PRC	• Legal functions • Citizenship rights and responsibilities • Election and representation systems • Public opinion
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF HONG KONG	• Governor's role • Powers of the Executive Council, the Legislative Council, and the judiciary. • Government Secretariat • Government Departments • Semi government bodies • Local levels of administration ▪ Urban Council ▪ Regional Council ▪ District Boards ▪ Heung Yee Kuk ▪ Local administration development • Consultative democracy • Consultative democracy and government accountability	• Public opinion • Pressure groups • Elections • Representation and other forms of participation • Addressing grievances • International affairs • Hong Kong's relationship with China, Britain and its future
PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES IN HONG KONG	• Current interest topics including: ▪ Education ▪ Housing ▪ Law and order	▪ Medical and health ▪ Social welfare ▪ Transport

Table 6-1 Themes and their content of the 1985 Form M VI G.P.A. (Secondary) Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (Curriculum Development Committee)

THEME:	CONTENTS:	
THE SETTING	• Public affairs • Politics as a social science	• Relation-ship between history and politics
A SURVEY OF SOME BASIC TERMS	• State • Sovereignty • Constitutionalism • Ideology • Nationalism	• Legitimacy • Authority • Participation • Representation • Freedom and justice
THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE	• Comparative electoral systems • Parties • Interest groups	• Role of the mass media • Demands on the state and responses based on type of systems
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF HONG KONG	• Constitution • Government • Legislature • Judiciary • Bureaucracy • Local government	• Public opinion • Interest groups • Mass media • Public policies • Relationship between Hong Kong, China, Britain, and Hong Kong's future
BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS	• British constitution and its evolution • Role of the monarchy, legislature and judiciary • Office of the Prime Minister	• Cabinet system of government and bureaucracy • British political parties; interest groups and the mass media • Public opinion and electoral behaviour.
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE USA	• American constitution • Branches of government • The President's role	• Congress and the judiciary • The federal bureaucracy • Federalism
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE PRC	• Evolution of the post 1949 system • Mao Zedong • The Cultural Revolution and new leadership • The Four Modernisations • The state and party constitutions	• Relationship among the party and state apparatus • Legislature and judiciary's role • People's Liberation Army's role • State and local unit problems • The attitude of the People's Republic of China towards Taiwan, Macau and Hong Kong

Table 6-2 Themes and their contents of the 1985 G.P.A. Form VI-VII Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (Curriculum Development Committee)

THEME:	CONTENTS:	
HANDOVER OF HONG KONG TO PRC SOVEREIGNTY	• One, country, two systems' • Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984	• The Basic Law
THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF HKSAR	• The constitution of the HKSAR ▪ The relationship between the Basic Law and the constitution of the PRC • Political framework of HKSAR: ▪ Chief Executive ▪ Executive Council	▪ Legislative Council ▪ Judiciary ▪ Executive authorities ▪ District organizations
GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE	• Citizens and their rights and responsibilities ▪ Civil rights ▪ Political rights ▪ Social rights • Character of representative government • Characteristics of elections ▪ Direct and indirect elections ▪ Free and fair elections	• Representative government and elections in Hong Kong • Role of the media, public opinion, lobbying, *e.g.*: ▪ Interest groups ▪ Political parties • Consultative processes, redressing of grievances, communication between the government and populace
LAW AND JUSTICE IN HONG KONG	• The meaning of the 'rule of law' ▪ Law and liberal democracy ▪ Human rights ▪ Sources for law in Hong Kong • Courts and their differing jurisdictions ▪ The judiciary ▪ Civil and criminal courts ▪ Trial by jury	• Penal system ▪ Penal institutions ▪ Rehabilitation
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ECONOMY	• The role of government in Hong Kong's economy ▪ Economic stability ▪ Economic policy ▪ Infrastructure ▪ Equitable expenditure	• Issues of public finance: ▪ Budget ▪ Revenues and expenditures
MAJOR SOCIAL ISSUES AND POLICIES	• One of: ▪ Education ▪ Health and welfare ▪ Housing ▪ Transportation	▪ Labour force ▪ Social welfare ▪ The environment and conservation
THE PRC AND HKSAR	• The state organs of the PRC ▪ Constitution of the PRC ▪ National People's Congress (NPC) ▪ State Council ▪ Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CCPCC) • The organization and structure of the Communist Party of China (CPC) ▪ National Congress ▪ Central Committee ▪ Political Bureau	• The relationship between the PRC and CPC ▪ Party leadership over state, army, and society ▪ Political and ideological leadership • Trends within the PRC that affect Hong Kong ▪ Political and economic developments

Table 6-3 Themes and their contents from the current G.P.A. syllabus, Secondary 4-5 (Education and Manpower Bureau)

THEME:	CONTENT:	
INDIVIDUAL AS CONSUMER	• Consumer as a decision maker • Consumer information	• Rights and protection of the consumer
INDIVIDUAL AS PRODUCER	• Producer as a decision maker • Business units • Production factors	• Occupational training • Employee and employer relations
CONSUMERS, PRODUCERS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP	• Consumer demand ▪ Individual demand ▪ Market demand	• Product supply ▪ Individual supply ▪ Market supply • Determination of price
INDIVIDUAL AS A CITIZEN	• Rights and responsibilities ▪ Civil rights and individual freedoms ▪ Economic rights	▪ Social rights ▪ Political rights ▪ Rights and duties of Hong Kong's citizen

Table 6-4 Themes and their contents of the current E.P.A. syllabus, Secondary 4-5 (Education and Manpower Bureau)

	1985 E.P.A.*	CURRENT G.P.A.
Hong Kong government and culture	8**	12**
PRC government and culture	3	4
Liberal democracy	1	3
Social policies and issues	8	1***
Hong Kong's relations with the outside world	3	1

[†]**Table 6-5 Comparison of the numbers of topics presented within the major themes of the 1985 E.P.A. Form IV-V syllabus with the current G.P.A. Secondary 4-5 syllabus**

[†] Note that if a topic in one syllabus treats the same material as a set of subtopics in the other syllabus they are treated as equivalents.

*Note that form 4-5 G.P.A. did not exist in 1985, hence the comparison. In 1986, Government and Public Affairs replaced E.P.A. in Form VI and Middle VI. The two are related.

**The topic of principles of justice can also fall within the liberal democracy theme.

***Note that in the current Secondary 4-5 G.P.A. a choice is given as to coverage of one of seven topics.

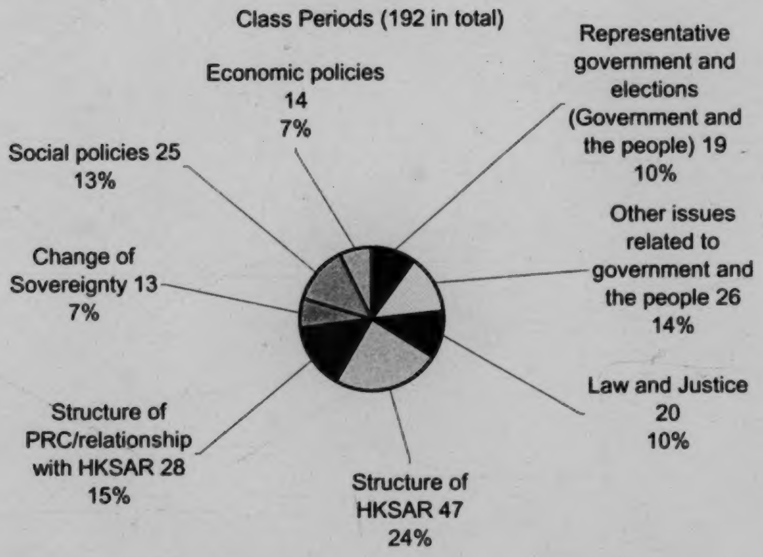

Figure 6-1 Topics covered in the current Secondary Government and Public Affairs syllabus by suggested class periods (Education and Manpower Bureau)

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Curriculum and Context Analysis Chapter 7

This chapter will analyse the Hong Kong curricula, specifically the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (1985), Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (1996), Government and Public Affairs Syllabus (G.P.A.) Secondary 4-5, and the Moral and Civic Education that were described in depth in the last chapter. This material will be examined with brief acknowledgement of post colonial and critical theory analytical tools. Further, I will be using social studies theories basically outlined in the work of Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977). I will also acknowledge what other writers have theorized about curricula document analysis, specifically as it can be applied to Hong Kong.

Next, the chapter will examine changes in civic education, and will provide an in-depth critical overview of what these changes may mean – the "big picture" – with respect to the Chinese resumption of sovereignty. I will focus on how the civic education curricula changed over the course of preparations for 1997, articulating these changes, and considering the impetus. A discussion and general conclusion will follow. The level of analysis will be the macro, but also micro level for the critical theory section, and mid-level analysis as mentioned by sociologists.[iv]

Finally, the main research questions will be analyzed in the concluding chapter. The research questions I set out to investigate were: (1) Which tradition(s) of social studies do the curricula stem from? (2) In light of the history of political changes of Hong Kong, what type of political system is encouraged, and to what extent? (3) Do the pre- and post- 1997 curricula in the social studies, broadly speaking as Civics and G.P. A. that fall within social studies philosophies, teach citizenship education for democracy or for inculcation? and (4) How has the recommended curricula reflected the political changes that have affected Hong Kong before and after the sovereignty handover in 1997?

[iv] Barakett & Cleghorn, 2000 define micro level focus research (p. 18) as "small scale analysis or social activity or social interaction" (such as in classrooms).

Critical Theory

McLaren On Critical Pedagogy

McLaren (1989), a reconceptualist, in his prototypical writing, demonstrated the basic philosophical underpinnings of critical theory and pedagogy. In essence, humans lack freedom and live within societies where power is asymmetrically portioned, and held by privileged groups. Contradictions in society are widespread and point to the interconnection between individuals and society at large as the nexus of societal problems. The marginalizing of certain groups based on class, race, ethnicity, and gender and the continued domination are among the accepted norms, values, and knowledge passed on through uncritical education, in turn part of the received and unquestioned social construct. Knowledge has a social function in terms of "domination and liberation," with schools being defined as a source of both (p. 167). The social construction of knowledge, for McLaren, meant "that the world we live in is constructed symbolically by the mind through social interaction with others and is heavily dependent on culture, context, custom, and historic specificity" (p. 169).

The social construction of knowledge, with the legitimisation of certain forms of knowledge over others, allows for the dominant group within society to perpetuate a hegemonic relationship with the subordinate groups and subcultures. These hegemonic relationships are maintained through teaching that is uncritical and unexamined. Pedagogically, traditional methodologies have sought to maintain the status quo, becoming ideologically subservient to the hegemony of the dominant group while becoming a tool of social reproduction. Schools assist in the maintenance of social classes from one generation to the next, fossilizing social stratification and inhibiting advancement from one class to the next. Further, schooling maintains the culture of the dominant class, advantaging its members while disadvantaging those from outside the dominant culture.

For McLaren – analysing Foucault and his concept of discourses – schooling became a part of the conventional discursive practice that sets "the rules by which discourses are formed, rules that govern what can be said and what must remain unsaid, who can speak with authority and who must listen" (McLaren, 1989, p. 180). The educational discourses of language, practice, and the beliefs that underlie learning create a situation whereby "knowledge (truth) is socially constructed, culturally mediated, and historically situated" (p. 181). Critical pedagogy made the connection between educational practice and social theory by declaring that curriculum is "the introduction to a particular form of life; it serves in part to prepare students for dominant or subordinate positions in the existing society" (McLaren, 1989, p. 183).

By understanding curriculum in these terms, the critical theorist "assumes that the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions are the primary categories for understanding contemporary schooling" (Giroux & McLaren, n.d., as cited in McLaren, 1989, p.185). The answer is to develop students with the critical thinking and inquiry skills necessary to appreciate and understand the underlying social situation, construct relevant social knowledge, and become empowered enough to challenge the hegemonic structure of society, with the ultimate goal of social transformation. In Hong Kong, the 1995 and 1996 Civic Education Guideless have allowed for some critical thinking , but it is not of the social transformation kind, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Paulo Freire and Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Freire (1989) devised a philosophy of the underlying reasons behind human subjugation. He observed that freedom was neither external to humans, nor a mythical idea, but was "the indispensable condition for the question for human completion" (p. 31). Freire, a dialectical thinker, was influenced by Marx. He perceived that the "world and action are intimately interdependent" (p. 38). Oppressed people adjust to the "structure of domination," under which they are subsumed. Eventually, they become reconciled to the nature of the oppression and accept it without challenge, being reluctant to assume the risks necessary to fight for their freedoms (p. 32). They fear genuine reality, an "authentic existence;" the oppressed "are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized," thus being divided (p. 32). This divide is reflected in the inner being, and focuses on whether the oppressed accept the internalised dictates of the oppressor, diminish their own true selves and limit their freedom of choice and action; or whether they seek to free themselves from the grip of the oppressor and express themselves as to their true natures as creative, independent actors. To free the oppressed from this dilemma, education must seek to be a force of empowerment and confidence.

Freire conceived of an education plan for emancipation based on reflection, problem-posing education, and praxis (1989). To liberate themselves, the oppressed must realize that through "critical discovery" that both they themselves and those who oppress are reflections of the process of dehumanisation. The solution is for the oppressed to fight for their emancipation in solidarity with sympathisers, by developing "a critical awareness of oppression through the praxis of this struggle" (p. 36). Transformative praxis involves 'critical intervention' through problem-posing education and reflection.

To reach liberation, two steps must be taken: First the oppressive system has to be uncovered and through praxis transformed. Second, where "reality of oppression has already been transformed," pedagogy becomes a force for all of humanity in creating the ideal of enduring freedom (Freire, 1989, p. 40). During these stages, "the culture of domination is culturally confronted" (p. 40). Freire wrote that oppressors use science and technology as tools to meet their repressive ends. An utter breakdown in self-belief and self-worth amongst the oppressed is a powerful tool in the hands of the oppressor, creating a belief amongst the oppressed in their own unworthiness. Therefore, Freire explained: "They call themselves ignorant and say the 'professor' is the one who has knowledge and to whom they should listen" (p. 49). They hardly recognize that they have knowledge, gained from their interactions with the world and with others. The oppressed must acquire conscientization (*conscientização*) or critical consciousness. Only when the oppressed understand how the oppressor thinks and then use this understanding to fight systematically for liberation can they gain confidence.

To Freire (1989), the banking concept of education is oppressive because, "based on a mechanistic, static, naturalistic, spatialized view of consciousness, it transforms students into receiving objects. It attempts to control thinking and action, leads men [*sic*] to adjust to the world, and inhibits their creative power" (p. 64). Teachers act like authorities, imparting knowledge bit-by-bit to students, who are seen as empty receptacles. This knowledge is static, and one-directional. In place of banking education, Freire called for problem-posing education through reciprocal dialogue, reflection and praxis. “For,” he wrote, “apart from inquiry, apart from praxis, men [*sic*] cannot be truly human” (p. 58). The production of knowledge is a continuously creative process brought about by the questing curiosity of human beings and their interactions with others and with the world around them. In the problem-posing model of education, dialogue between the teacher and the student is necessary and is how new, creative and critical knowledge is created put into action (praxis) to transform.

The importance of critical thinking was stated in the 1985 and 1996 Guidelines, but the knowledge topics were too limited and circumscribed for the Freirian emancipatory type of critical thinking to apply, and were aimed at gaining thinking skills for informed citizenship. At the kindergarten and primary level, teaching objectives in the “Guidelines” included the development of “enquiry and social skills” to enable students to make decisions and form opinions based on critical thinking and research (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 11). This was a mild version of the critical theory approach. In civic education, the aim was rational, politically astute and responsible citizenship through the development of appropriate knowledge, attitudes and skills to “contribute constructively to the process of political and social change” (p. 10). Skills included expressing personal feelings and convictions regarding one’s rights, and critical thinking with consideration of outcomes and consequences. However, as pointed out in the last chapter, schools were not to diverge too dramatically from the status quo, as “evolution [was to] be the watch-word” regarding political development, and the focus was on “civic education as a politically socializing force for promoting stability and responsibility” (p. 9). Schools, teachers and students were not intended to be agents of political or social change.

Also in the 1996 Guidelines, a mild version of the critical approach was incorporated. In the 1996 Guidelines an aim of civic education was “to develop in students critical thinking dispositions and problem-solving skills that would allow them to analyse social and political issues objectively and arrive at a rational appraisal of these issues” (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 6). Reflection about individual core values was considered important “in order to understand one’s own value system” (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 14). This type of reflection was more related to valuing processes and moral education (see van Manen and Parsons, 1985) than

Freirian proposed reflection. At the secondary level, a teaching objective was to prepare students for responsible decision making roles. Critical and creative civic attitudes were considered important in the these Guidelines, so that in theory, if students were provided with the opportunities, acquired thinking and decision making skills could preclude automatic conformity. As part of the conceptual framework for civic education and under the 'Essential Qualities of the Civic Learner,' were civic attitudes, one of which was to be positive about contributing to society, and in order to contribute "to the advancement of society and civilization, one also needs to develop such attitudes as being **critical and creative** in the process of learning" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 16). However, many of the topics or sections did not lend themselves to critical thinking or challenging the status quo. *Area IV: The National Community*, for example, focussed on Chinese cultural and state topics, with the aim of inculcation: not to question nationhood, but to promote it. So, in essence, the critical aspects were diluted with the inculcation or transmission of knowledge and culture strands.

The current Government and Public Affairs Syllabus (G.P.A.) was designed to allow for some critical thinking and analysis of pertinent political issues. The G.P.A. Syllabus for Secondary 4-5 (in use 2004-2005) calls for student awareness of major social issues in Hong Kong, and for students to use critical thinking in their analyses of these issues. Some critical thinking enabling activities and controversial issues are present. Students could research about the Sino-British Joint Declaration negotiations of the 1980s that led to the foundations of HKSAR, and about the Sino-British Join Liaison Group's meetings. Strife, such as when political parties sprang up and vied for autochthonous representation and viewpoints during the late 1980s and 1990s, could be discovered by students. Under *Topic 3, Government and the People*, the syllabus content included "Mass media, public opinion, interest groups and political parties" with guidance notes referring to the mass media and public opinion, and about the formation and role of interest groups and political parties (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d., pp. 17-20). Suggested activities included comparing election strategies, visiting and interviewing political leaders and party members, examining party platforms, and "[analyzing] the effectiveness of political parties in affecting the public policies in the HKSAR" (p. 20). Under the HKSAR political structure, syllabus content was the topic of the Legislative Council (LegCo), including the formation of the Council itself. Political skills and participation were encouraged in the suggested activities: to gather information about LegCo Councillors, to attend a LegCo meeting, to use a case study or role play about the passing of a bill into law, to gather information about issues presented by the LegCo members and to inquire into their "effectiveness in affecting the formulation of public politics" and to debate the very controversial topic: "The power of the LegCo is inadequate in supervising the executive" (p. 14).

However, many non-controversial and banal public policies were highlighted as examples of approaching local social issues such as transport responsibilities of the Government with a suggested activity being to "find out the latest facilitates/ services/programmes available in the transport sector and the underlying reasons for providing these facilitates/ services/programmes" (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d., p. 45). The topics, it was highlighted, required "knowledge of the basic facts of the Government of the HKSAR and an understanding of the related concepts" (p. 6). In these cases, Freire's banking transmission pedagogic model dominated.

The Hidden Curriculum

Citing Jackson (1968, pp. 3-37), Michael Apple (1971) defined the 'hidden curriculum' as "the norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively, taught in schools, and that are not usually talked about in teachers' statements of end or goals." Apple observed that schools are conservative institutions that perpetuate the prevailing dominant world-view. How conflict in the curriculum is dealt with (or ignored) can result in the maintenance of the status quo regarding power, rationality and political inaction.

The 1985"Guidelines" were concerned with consensus or order, not conflict. However, Apple argued conflict was necessary in social studies curricula (and science) to "counterbalance the tacit assumptions being taught" (1971, p. 27). There was much in the Guidelines to support Apple's view that conflict and dissent are suppressed. First, the traditional concept of roles in society may have been derived from Confucian thinking where hierarchical duties and obligations existed, such as between parents and child. According to Lau and Kuan (1988), the Confucian social order allowed for equality theoretically, but nevertheless "Confucianism rationalized a hierarchical order of status and roles" (p. 4). The concept of roles constantly arose in both the 1985 and the 1986

Guidelines. At the primary level (1985), the objectives included assisting students in identifying their role within social groups; and to develop skills to live in social harmony (Curriculum Development Committee). In addition, knowledge concepts included groups (family, school, neighbourhood and community), personal roles and responsibilities, and rules and regulations (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 14-19). Lower primary concepts included "roles, rules, co-operation, rights and responsibilities" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 23). Junior secondary level knowledge also included roles of family members. Attitudes included the importance of family to society, belonging and peace in the family, filial piety/love, and care for parents and elders in the family, while skills were to show love and concern for family members (p. 26). Specifically, the respect of parents and filial piety concepts could be attributed to Confucianism. Senior secondary level also had many role sets of knowledge. The family section listed roles and responsibilities within that unit, and proposed appropriate attitudes. A section for form six "Guidelines" was the individual and social groups (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Under these areas, knowledge concepts included the individual and social groups and gender roles (p. 39-40). The aim of assigning roles was to fit into society and to conform into the existing social order.

Likewise the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (1996) emphasised conformity into the pre-existing social order, but introduced an element of critical and creative thinking as part of the competencies. For example, a teaching objective for kindergarten to primary level was "to help students recognise their role within the social group of the school, the family and the community" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 6). The first key area was the family: the role of the family in society and politics, and the roles and functions within families were included. Hence, it was evident that families and the roles that they play, as well as students' support for their families, was considered vital. Family values, albeit with recognition "of the changing pattern of Hong Kong families" (p. 21) was a traditional conforming socialization force in the 1996 Guidelines.

Second, there was general discouragement of conflict in the curricula overall, with the focus on co-operation, harmony and the common good. For example, at the lower primary level, attitudes under the knowledge topic "Roles of the individual in groups" included "willingness to co-operate," "consideration for others" and "willingness to share" (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 17). In addition, the common good and personal contribution also appeared as attitude objectives. Skills for lower primary were "to co-operate with other members of the group in completing a task" (p. 18), and "to participate in activities for the common good of the group" (p. 19). Sixth-form "Guidelines" (1985) knowledge concepts included the individual as a social being, developing some basic understanding of sociology, and the individual and social groups (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 39). Skills included the ability to both "lead harmonious lives in crowded living environment" and to "identify different social groupings and contribute positively to the maintenance of human relations" (p. 39). Students were to be socialized through the formal curriculum to co-operate, to live in harmony with others, and to consider the needs of society.

The Politics of Textbooks and the Curriculum

The analysis of textbooks and other pedagogical tools is an important component of critical theory's approach to understanding the curriculum. As Apple (1990) wrote, the politics of textbooks is "part of the social construction of reality, knowledge, education, and schooling" (p. 17) that demarcates textbooks as "cultural artefacts," legitimating some forms of knowledge and cultural concepts while devaluing or ignoring the culture of the other. By situating textbooks within the social construction of reality and knowledge, Apple (1990) refuted the notion of textbooks as neutral sources of knowledge. Rather, textbooks reflect the political and socio-economic conflicts and compromises that take place within society. Textbooks become instrumental in societal struggles for power. For Apple, their importance was manifest, as they represent certain "constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge" (p. 20). In doing so, textbooks shape what is seen as legitimate and truthful knowledge, creating "canons of truthfulness" (p. 20).

In a similar vein to McLaren, Apple argued that reality is a social construct, dominated by hegemonic groups within society, creating a dichotomy perspective on schooling. For some, schools are democratic, for others they are a "form of social control, or … the embodiment of cultural dangers" The central question is: "Whose knowledge is of most worth?" (Apple, 1990, p. 17).

Schooling becomes a facet of the political and socio-cultural disagreements within a society, and educational conflict becomes a reflection of the ideological battles played out in larger society. Apple (1990) made these observations in the context of the United States, arguing that the politics of schooling have reflected the agenda of the New Right. He cited the centralization of teaching and curriculum, business-led educational goals, morality legislation, and the 'free enterprise' curricula as evidence that the political and cultural platforms of the New Right were being asserted in US schools. The curricula embodied ideology that upheld traditional family values, traditional gender roles, patriotism, preservation of Western traditions, capitalism, small government, and anti-communism.

Some of the same can be said of Hong Kong, although in a different socio-political context. Traditional and family values, capitalism, patriotism, and small government are all lauded. Naturally, anticommunism is not the case in HKSAR, as the PRC is officially administered by the CCP. The Chinese tradition is taking precedence over the Western influence in HKSAR.

In Hong Kong, ideological and educational conflicts have been a constant since the 1980s. Hong Kong has long centralized the production of textbooks and curriculum through the CDC and HKEA (Morris, 1990; 1991), with the focus on capitalism especially visible in the Economics E.P.A. syllabi and the traditional morality focus. Teaching certification, in most jurisdictions, has also been under the aegis of the state. Morris (1990; 1991, see also 1988) elaborated that:

> The curriculum of Hong Kong schools is controlled by two central organizations. The Curriculum Development Committees, which are administered by the Government Advisory Inspectorate, are responsible for designing curricula and for approving school textbooks. In addition the Hong Kong Examinations Authority (HKEA), which is an independent statutory body, administers all of Kong Kong's public examinations and produces the syllabuses for all subjects, which are publicly examined. (p. 114; pp. 120-121)

Subsequently, the Curriculum Development Committees were renamed as the Curriculum Development Council. A Curriculum Development Institute was also added to improve curriculum development (Education Commission, 1990, Report 3, as cited in Cheng, 1999).

Morris (1988) called these bureaucratic process controls because they determined the content, subjects, guidelines and textbooks. He argued that "centralized … decision-making [in] the absence of organized groups attempting to define the curriculum has allowed the formal curriculum to be substantially determined by the state bureaucracy" (1988, p. 518). Education regulations stipulated that syllabi and instructional documents have to be Director approved (see Morris, 1988; 1991). So, as Morris (1988; 1991) pointed out, "In practice, schools have to study the official syllabus, and can only use textbooks on the list approved by the Education Department's inspectorate" (p. 513; p. 121). In this sense, teachers' hands are tied in terms of what textbooks they use. There are no choices to better suit the needs of the parents, children, and no latitude for professional decision making, or as Apple (1990) had suggested, for textbooks to be used as tools for democratization.

Moreover, control is established as publishers are given 'suggestions' followed by a note that the Education Department could void books from the approved textbook list (Morris, 1990; 1991). As a result, "Publishers are very reluctant to include any reference to those events as they anticipate that it will be censored by the Education Department and/or could result in some form of retaliation after 1997 (Morris, 1990; 1991, p. 122; p. 137). One exception to the rule has been the inclusion of the Tiananmen incident in a history textbook in 2004 (BBC, 2004). A neutral tone was attempted in the textbook section by the author (who was also a teacher), Wong Chi-man. He explained: "The text describes how the square was 'cleared' at the end of the protest" (para. 5). This type of control can ultimately lead to a dangerous situation whereby the influence of textbooks and the curriculum helps to create and perpetuate cultural hegemony, as determined by the ideology of the dominant group. Whether defined by class, race, gender, or ethnicity, hegemony marginalizes the identity and aspirations of those groups not tendered an equal legitimate. In the case of Hong Kong, minorities are a small fraction, but should not be ignored, nor should local identities.

Edward Said and Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theories were a reaction to colonialism. As McLeod (2000) elucidated, former colonized people "wrote back" and challenged their colonizers' discourse by examining 'representation' and 'modes or perception,' as language and ideas used to maintain colonial rule. McLeod noted the influence and significance of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).

In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said presented the following notable insights. Like many observers, Said re-iterated that, apart from expanding empires, profit was a prime motive as evidenced by commodity trades, such as cotton, slaves and opium. The same can be applied to Hong Kong -- especially during the 19th century when Hong Kong was founded as an outpost for commercial reasons to increase profit, and as a centre for commerce. Said (1993) expounded that, to help colonizers rule, an ideology developed that, beyond empire-building and profit, there was some moral or natural imperative to rule over perceived lesser beings:

> There was a commitment to them over and above profit, a commitment in constant circulation and recirculation, which, on the one hand allowed decent men and women to accept the notion that distant territories and their native peoples *should* be subjugated, and, on the other, replenished metropolitan energies so that these decent people could think of the *imperium* as a protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced people. (p. 10)

For Said, the hegemony of this imperialist ideology persists. While Britain and France surrendered most of their colonies after World War II, Said, referring to Franz Fanon, pointed out that the imperialists have not paid their debts to subjugated colonies, and that French and British cultures cling to and perpetuate imperialist hegemony. He added that America was a party to this hegemonic ideology. To Said, this way of thinking created binary division between 'us' and 'them.' Instead, argued Said, cultures are hybrids; however, since the 18th century, through the phenomena of domination and the establishment of hegemony, 'culture and experience' were separated. Specifically, Said (1993) theorized about the importance of the imperialist ideology as a precursor to events:

> Entities such as races and nations, essences such as Englishness or Orientalism, modes of production such as Asiatic or Occidental, all of these in my opinion

> testify to an ideology whose cultural correlatives well precede the actual accumulation of imperial territories world-wide [*sic*]. (p. 58)

Postcolonial theories can be used as a tool in analysis in the case of Hong Kong, though they have their limitations. Much disagreement exists in literature that applies postcolonial theory to Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong Curricula and Post-Colonial Theory

Specifically, a 'colonial' approach to Hong Kong's school history is felt by some to be too simplistic in nature (Kan & Vickers, 2002; Sweeting and Vickers, 2003; Vickers, 2002). Vickers (2002) argued that, although many commentators have naturally seen Hong Kong's schooling in this colonial/post-colonial light, the reality is different. For example, Vickers noted that from the 1970s, textbooks devoted little space to actual British or imperial history. The creation of two history curricula, with Chinese history as a separate subject, has been seen as the product of collaboration between British colonial officials and Chinese scholars and educators. Both parties drafted the original texts, and both were inherently conservative in nature (Kan & Vickers, 2002). This continued conservative approach, argued Kan and Vickers, in fact served both the British colonial power and the new PRC administration very well in that it eschewed more critical interpretations. Essentially, Chinese history as a school subject, with its rigid chronological approach and study of non-controversial issues, became a collaborative reinforcer of both British and Chinese stewardship of Hong Kong, limiting critical inquiry and controversial studies that might challenge the status quo (Kan & Vickers, 2002).

History education in Hong Kong was depoliticised for much of British rule (Vickers, Kan, & Morris, 2003), even to the point that local history was not reflected in thee textbooks of the period (Vickers, 2002). It was not until the 1990s, as a sign of the emergence of a sense of distinct identity, that local history became articulated in education. The interest in local history began in the 1960s and 1970s with the growth of a generation of students and academics that had never know Mainland China, yet were influenced by student movements inspired by the Cultural Revolution. This resulted in less interest in the colonial administration of Hong Kong and a greater degree of interest in the pre-colonial history of the region and appreciation for the cultural and social history of the Chinese of the region before and after the arrival of the British.

The Chinese history curriculum has undergone transition both under British colonial rule, and after resumption of sovereignty, with new focus on Chinese nationalism. Under colonialism, Chinese history was an independent subject in its own right, and its independence was vehemently and successfully upheld by the local Chinese history community (Kan & Vickers, 2002; Vickers, Kan, & Morris, 2003). On the other hand, general history, from the 1970s onward, became increasingly focused on modern Chinese history as a subject of study (Vickers, Kan, & Morris). Since the handover, Chinese history has undergone major revision to reflect the new administration's assertion, as evidenced in the policy address of Tung Chee Hwa, that "the promotion of a homogenous and totalising sense of Chinese culture, morality and values" (p, 107) was crucial to educational reform. In the words of the Chief Executive:

> We will incorporate the teaching of Chinese values in the school curriculum and provide more opportunities for students to learn about Chinese history and culture. This will foster a stronger sense of Chinese identity in our students. (Hong Kong Government Policy Address, 1997, as cited in Vickers, Kan, & Morris, 2003, p. 106)

This has led to a "politicized nationalism" in Chinese history well beyond the cultural and ethnic history taught before.

Yet, if the period of British rule reflected a sense that local history was dominated by Britain, the post-handover period may reflect only domination by a new hegemony, at time when "the evident determination of the new regime to promote Beijing's 'one China' orthodoxy, combined with socio-economic developments that are integrating Hong Kong ever more closely with the 'motherland,' prompt doubts regarding the long-term survival prospects for any robust, confident sense of local identity" (Vickers, 2002, p. 600). Indeed, the "limitations of political autonomy have implied limits to curricular autonomy, and nowhere more so than in the case of history education" (p. 588) because the current administration seeks to use Chinese history education as a tool in efforts to "socialize" students to become model citizens of the PRC (Kan & Vickers, 2002).

Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, August 1985

The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985 and the Underlying Social Studies Philosophies

Transmission Tradition

The transmission tradition was apparent in the 1985 "Guidelines" due to a focus on societal norms, regulations, and correct behaviour but was tempered by the inclusion of discussions. From kindergarten, children were socialized to conform to group rules and expected to have manners. At the primary level, students were expected to respect those around them and to acquire a sense of responsibility. Lower primary level concepts included "roles, rules, co-operation, rights and responsibilities" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 23). The school and the neighbourhood knowledge concepts included school functions, rules, regulations, roles and such at the junior secondary level. Attitudes had to do with instilling "correct and positive attitude" (p. 27) such as respect for school staff and skills included appropriate behaviour.

The transmission model was apparent in the individual and society (Hong Kong) and the individual and the nation (China) unit. During the 1980s, as explained in the last chapter, there were preparations for 1997, and this entailed increasing the amount of content about China. For example, for upper primary, knowledge attitudes included a "sense of national identity and belonging," to love Hong Kong and China, to have pride in both Hong Kong's and China's "people and their achievements" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 19). The Chinese tradition was to be taught thematically with the aim that "cultural heritage and cultural identity can be inculcated" (p. 22). The "Guidelines" included, at the primary level attitudes that included instilling pride in the "Chinese heritage" (p. 23). This was about pride in China's heritage, not the Chinese state. A knowledge concept for senior secondary and for form six was the individual and the nation (China) in the "Guidelines" (1985) (p. 31). This was about socializing students into the nation. The knowledge component about government and politics of the PRC and recent Chinese history was transmission as the intent was to prepare future Chinese citizens.

The Progressive Tradition

An element of the progressive tradition was apparent in the "Guidelines" (1985) and related curricula. A general aim of civic education in schools was to allow students the chance to practice "discussion, debate and decision-making," characteristic of reflective inquiry (see Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1977) and progressive teaching methodologies. These "Guidelines" explained that the Social Studies and Economic and Public Affairs syllabi had overlapping objectives. Both subjects had progressive or reflective inquiry traditions mentioned. The introduction of the "Guidelines" explained that the Forms I-III Social Studies syllabus "promotes the faculty for critical and logical reasoning and develops the ability to exchange ideas and views with others" (p. 3). The Form IV-V syllabus also mentioned the enquiry method: Focus existed on the importance of "free and informed discussion" with "case studies … quoted for analysis" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 4).

A minor number of progressive teaching strategies were suggested in the "Guidelines." For primary level activities, 1985 "Guidelines" reflect, in a limited way, the progressive tradition. For example, textbook work, debates and thematic projects were mentioned as ways of teaching civic awareness (the first being transmission pedagogy and the next two progressive). At the junior secondary level, under the concept of the individual and society, skills included group interaction skills (discussions, debates), social and political participation skills, and participation for the common good. Under the knowledge concepts, such as the right to vote, was the skill "to make decisions with consideration of consequences" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 29). Decision making is at the core of the reflective inquiry tradition (Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1977). Furthermore, under the knowledge topic of the individual and society (Hong Kong) was current issues. An attitude item was to have "positive attitudes towards current issues with a commitment to try to solve some of the problems related to these issues" (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 30). Students were to be encouraged to be problem-solving, participatory citizens. Under the "skills" section, students were expected to discuss current issues.

Some progressive tradition strategies were listed for the senior secondary level in the "Guidelines." First, social and interpersonal skills and personal and decision-making skills were listed under the individual and social groups topic of the family (Curriculum

Development Committee, 1985, pp. 32-22). Second, for the individual and social group topic of preparation for post-school life were the skills of identifying alternatives and making decisions. Third, under the individual and world skills was the ability to contribute to problem-solving (p. 37). In the form six "Guidelines" (1985), for the topic of the individual and social groups, were attitudes that included understanding interactions within groups, appreciating co-operative problem solving, and respecting others' opinions. Skills included the ability to "function in group situations effectively," which is necessary for co-operative learning, a progressive education methodology (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 39). The individual and the world topic also included the skill of problem-solving.

Social Science Tradition

Immersing students in the social science tradition was one of the aims of the 1985 "Guidelines." Aims and objectives in the "Guidelines" in schools for civic education were outlined as the task "to develop in young people the sort of knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for them to become rational, politically sensitive and responsible citizens who can contribute constructively to the process of political and social change" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 10). In order to reach this goal, one of the strategies employed within the "Guidelines" was to learn the process of conducting research in the social sciences. One of the teaching objectives for kindergarten to primary level was (vi) "to develop enquiry and social skills which will enable [students] to reach well thought-out conclusions based on properly researched information and learn how to communicate effectively" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 11).

At the secondary level, the objectives included some social science (political science) concepts about government. The social science related objectives were to "enable pupils to acquire the structure and working of the Hong Kong Government and its relationship to other institutions;" to understand the principles of cultural interaction; to improve comprehension and analysis of international relations and conflict; to further social awareness through promoting involvement in varieties of social activities and settings that foster social judgment and knowledge of the duties and requirements of society; to raise critical awareness by presenting students with the tools and skills needed to research and understand a wide range of social functions and features to form skills in analysis and evaluation of social issues; social and political skill formation to create responsible decision-makers (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 12).

The Guidelines (1985) for upper primary in terms of citizenship education included the topics of Hong Kong's society, the nation, government and the citizen. The government section focused on the function of a government; the work of the Hong Kong government; and the government and the people. Skills followed the social science tradition by simplifying social science methods of discovery through logical and rational thinking, data gathering, and interpreting data and information about the three topics.

At the junior secondary level, some of the social science tradition was evident in the Guidelines (1985). The individual and Hong Kong society unit included logical rational thinking through the objective evaluation of government performance and current issues. Another outcome was to have students think objectively using data analysis. For the knowledge concept under the individual and the nation was the skill to "analyse and interpret information objectively" and for the topic of the individual and the world was the skill of collecting and analysing data about commerce (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, pp. 30-31).

The form six "Guidelines" (1985) included a social science orientation. For the topic within the individual and the world about world divisions, students were to hone the skill to choose "appropriate evidence and to analyse and evaluate information" (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 41). The G.P.A. (1985) was predominantly about the social science disciplines of political science, such as basic terms and comparative politics, examining the systems of government in the UK, the US, the PRC and Hong Kong.

Life Adjustment, Moral Education and Values

Life adjustment, moral education and values existed in the curriculum, but were not of the child-centred pedagogic type for the most part. Rather, they are better described as transmission, attempting to inculcate a set values, not extend learning from children's own value systems. For example, a "sense of pride and loyalty to the school" was a specific attitude and a value (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 27). There were life adjustment tradition sections: for example, the individual topic listed for senior secondary, referred to physical development and emotional characteristics of the adolescent, and awareness of these changes. Under the topic social behaviour was included personal development, such as study skills and friendships (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 31).

Multiculturalism, Regional Education and Global Education

Multiculturalism, regional education and global education traditions appeared in passing. For example, multiculturalism and global education traditions were found in the concepts for junior secondary under the individual and the world (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). Knowledge pertained to understanding the world through Hong Kong's links as a cosmopolitan city (fusion of cultures); an export-oriented city (dependence on world markets); a financial centre (dependence on foreign investment); a tourist centre (dependence on tourists); and a place to promote international understanding. Attitudes included respect for different cultures, respect for people of all races, creeds and cultures; and appreciation of the importance of international understanding and goodwill (p. 31). For regional education, Hong Kong's neighbours were mentioned, as was the need to respect their culture and traditions.

The Social Studies Approach of the Current Government and Public Affairs Syllabus

Citizenship Transmission Tradition

The current G.P.A. syllabus was focused on the training of students for their roles as citizens of HKSAR. The content was centred heavily on HKSAR's and PRC's governments and the HKSAR's government's role in the economy, and was therefore transmission-oriented in its pedagogical implications. As stated in the aims of the syllabus, a primary objective was to develop knowledge and appreciation of the policies and institutions that make up the government of Hong Kong, and the political concepts that undergird the new administrative region (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.). As such, the topics provided were intended to develop in students a belief in their civic duties, responsibilities, and participation, facilitated by logical thinking, and an understanding of Hong Kong's new role as a special administrative region within China.

The first topic, the handover of sovereignty, grounded students in the Basic Law and the principle of "one country, two systems," thus creating an awareness of the fundamentals of the new Hong Kong and its position within a united China. The second topic, the political structure of the HKSAR, developed the political education of students by focusing on the institutions of Hong Kong and their activities. Thus, students were expected to understand the different roles and functions of the Chief Executive, the Executive and Legislative Councils, executive authorities, and district organizations.

The third topic, government and the people, was significantly geared towards the development of civic consciousness through discussion of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and the avenues through which civic participation took place, such as elections, political parties, pressure groups, the media, and communication between the government and the people. The fourth topic, law and justice in Hong Kong, continued this focus on citizenship by examining concept of the rule of law, the types of laws and their sources, how laws are maintained, and how justice is upheld.

The fifth topic, government and the economy, provided students with an understanding of the importance of the market economy to Hong Kong. This topic addressed the economic policies of the government, its financial and budgetary policy making mechanisms, and how financial policies affected the community in Hong Kong. Topic six, major social issues and policies, further grounded students in the role of government in Hong Kong. It discussed how social policies were formulated and implemented, and provided for students to appreciate the current social policies of Hong Kong. Finally, topic seven, the PRC and HKSAR, was intended to develop in students an understanding of how Hong Kong interacted with Mainland China and the principle central institutions of the PRC.

The current G.P.A. syllabus reflects a mixture of progressive and transmission traditions. Although activities were suggested that encourage critical thinking and promote student participation and individual and collaborative learning, equally, many of these activities were prescribed within set boundaries, and were designed to meet the ends of indoctrinating students into the political, social, and economic realities of the new Hong Kong. Revealingly, one suggested activity was for students to develop ways to promote understanding of the Basic Law among the population of Hong Kong while a poster activity in topic three centred on the concept of the making of a good citizen. A further poster activity in topic four was designed along the themes of the importance of obeying the law and the rule of law and society (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.).

Although many activities in the current G.P.A. syllabus called for analysis and discussion of policies, institutions, and government and social activities, most of these discussions were prescribed as to how the discussion should be framed, and provided for little latitude beyond what was set out in the syllabus. Many activities revolved around collecting information about government institutions or policies, but provided little space for analysis of the information gathered. A high degree of educational effort was centred on fact collecting and the display of these facts. For instance, topic one consisted entirely of gathering data on the Basic Law, "One country, Two systems," and the negotiations between China and Britain within a prescriptive framework of what was necessary to be discussed, and what was of importance. Equally, much of topic two was concerned with identifying the elements of Hong Kong's political structure and their functioning. Class activities were heavily focused on descriptions of the roles of the various power structures within Hong Kong, such as collecting information from newspapers on the roles of the Chief Executive and the background of Executive Councillors (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.). This was particularly clear in topic seven, where all activities were based on collecting or reading information about the central structures of the PRC and the Communist Party of China with the exception of one activity, which called for analysis of the relationship between PRC and HKSAR. No activities called for debate on the fundamental structure of the PRC or its policies.

The Progressive Tradition

Certain components of the progressive tradition can be identified within the current G.P.A. One of the aims of the syllabus was to develop the skills necessary for intelligent discussion of issues of importance to Hong Kong (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.). Therefore, activities were suggested to promote discussion and analysis of the major issues facing Hong Kong. For example, topic two of the syllabus suggested activities that called for role-playing of the legislative body and case studies of legislative activities. Another activity asked students to form groups to discuss what they perceived as the characteristics of an ideal Chief Executive. In topic two, students could compare and contrast the position of political parties on a particular issue of interest. For topic four, role-playing of courtroom proceedings was a suggested activity, as was a debate on the benefits of correctional methods of law enforcement *vis-à-vis* retributive methods.

Topic five provided for an activity wherein students could debate budgetary policy. Therefore, the syllabus did provide an arena for some reflective and critical thinking skills, and for student initiative and independent thought.

Social Studies as Social Science

The current G.P.A. syllabus, with its heavy focus on governmental functions, also followed the social sciences transmission model. The content of the syllabus, as made clear in the aims, was designed to ensure understanding of the policies and society of Hong Kong, and related political concepts (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.). To achieve this, the syllabus sought to "develop the skills necessary for the study and intelligent discussion of issues of current interest and importance" (p. 7). These skills took the form of analysis and examination of the roles of the various political, social, economic, and legal bodies of Hong Kong and China, and studied the handover of sovereignty from a historical perspective. Essentially, the content and aims of the syllabus required an appreciation for the skills and knowledge developed in the social sciences.

Thus, skill sets from the disciplines of political science, history, and economics were called for. For example, an activity in topic one revolved around reading the primary document of the Sino-British Joint declaration and understanding its significance. An activity suggested in topic two asked for an examination of the constitutions from the PRC and the US and identification of major elements within these documents. The collection of background information on Executive and Legislative Councillors, the conduct of the executive and legislative branches, and the electoral process also helped students to develop a knowledge base in political science, while discussion of the policies of the government in the maintenance of economic stability and viability looked towards developing an aptitude in economics.

Citizenship Education and Social Studies

Civic education and social studies have citizenship education as their goal. The "Guidelines" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985) defined *civic education or education for citizenship* as relations between the individual, the government, and society. Civic education was called education for citizenship, and was tasked with promoting positive relationships. Civic education in Hong Kong, according to the

Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (Curriculum Development Committee) or henceforth 1985 "Guidelines," was interpreted in a similar way as the goal for social studies education as defined by Barr, Barth, & Shermis (1977) which was 'citizenship education' (also see Schneider, 1989). However, Barr et al.'s focus in the US context for the 'social studies as reflective' school of thought was citizenship for democracy. In 1985 in Hong Kong, the goal was more ambiguous. Democracy was mentioned in the "Guidelines" and *education for democracy* was defined but without conclusiveness, and with the aim of such education being generic: "to have better and healthier relationships with government and other members of society" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 7). The end result was that the term 'civic education' was used instead of 'education for democracy.'

Political Change and Curricula

Many observed that the "Guidelines" supported the status quo. Morris (1990; 1991; Morris, 1997), and Tse (1997) noticed that the "Guidelines" had the effect of maintaining political status quo by advocating the cautious and conservative stance of "evolution[v]...stability and responsibility" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 9) and also added that desirable qualities were to be promoted to increase 'healthier' relationships between the government and the people. Morris (1990) also pointed out that, unlike E.P.A. and the G.P.A. syllabi, democratic concepts and functions were excluded because no consensus about the meaning of democracy was arrived upon. The door was left open, that "basic understanding of the concept of democracy may be introduced" if developmentally appropriate (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 9). Tse (1997) summarized: "Of the most important virtues or desirable qualities mentioned, an emphasis was on conformity, responsibility and commitment" which encouraged maintenance of the status quo (p. 15). The implementation of the 1985 "Guidelines" was designed to reinforce social awareness and the maintenance of good order, and was narrowly descriptive as "obeying the law and the benevolence of government were stressed, and teachers were asked not to bring political values into the discussions with students" (Morris & Morris, 2001, p. 12).

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[v] "In light of Hong Kong's recent political development, evolution should be the watch-word and the emphasis in this guide will be on civic education as a politically socializing force for promoting stability and responsibility" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 9).

Although the critique of political socialization was acknowledged, after the definition of the socialization process whereby youth are "induced to accept and conform to traditionally established ways of life" the aim of civic education was "the promotion of social responsibility" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 9). In this sense, schools were to replicate the society at the time, and because the mid-1980s was a time of democratisation and the beginning of the transition period to Chinese sovereignty, the 1985 "Guidelines" meekly 'towed the government line' the way that the "Guidelines" expressed that political socialization of children could lead to that happening. When writing about Hong Kong schools, Tse (1997) argued that schools failed to produce active participatory democratic citizens. Citizens are neither reflective nor critical, and national identity was not consolidated so that "civic education in most schools is functioning as a politically socializing force for promoting stability, rather than preparing for the political changes after 1997" (pp. 35-36).

Democracy and Education

Hong Kong has been witness to a difficult and often torturous path towards democracy. As made clear in the historical overview provided in an earlier chapter of this thesis, for much of Hong Kong's colonial history, there was little in the way of true progress towards democracy. It was only in the waning era of colonial rule that democracy began to take root as the colonial administration under Governor Patten sought to lay the groundwork for a post-handover Hong Kong. Post-1997, the question of democracy in Hong Kong continues to be a controversial and complex issue. What of the relationship between education and democracy in Hong Kong? How has the curriculum pre- and post-1997 reflected democratic concerns and content?

The 1985 "Guidelines," coming close on the heels of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, may be seen as the beginning of an attempt to foster democratic values within education for citizenship, reflecting the colonial government's policy aim of preparing the colony for the eventual sovereignty change (Morris, 1990). The aims of the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985, included the concept of safeguarding democratic values and developing students who could become active participants (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). This was particularly true at the senior secondary level, where an emphasis was placed on understanding the nature of participatory democracy and related liberal democratic values and freedoms. The syllabus also involved comparison and discussion of democracy within an international setting in order to "to assess alternative interpretations of these values and principles as practiced elsewhere" (p. 12). For the sixth form, the knowledge topics sought to understand the application of democratic principles in Hong Kong and promote effective democratic government in Hong Kong, enabling students to become active, participatory citizens.

An examination of the G.P.A. syllabi bears this out. In Form Middle VI of 1985 G.P.A. (Curriculum Development Committee), one of the three themes was devoted to understanding political science concepts and types of governments and governmental systems (Table 6-1). The second theme, government and politics in Hong Kong, beyond defining the structure of government in Hong Kong, made distinct mention of consultative democracy, government accountability, and international affairs. In the 1985 G.P.A. Form VI-VII, three of the seven themes addressed political science concepts and values (Table 6-2). Furthermore, a theme was devoted to each of the British and US government and politics, with only one theme centred on the structure of Hong Kong's government and one focussing on the government of the PRC. Thus, students were introduced to a wide array of the concepts that underlay politics with an international perspective.

The 1996 Guidelines on Civic Education continued this attempt at fostering democratic values. Amongst the aims was to understand "the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1996, p. 6). Given that the handover was only a year away; the Guidelines stressed the importance of core values such as plurality, tolerance, and the promotion of democracy for freedom and liberty. It can be seen that as the change of sovereignty loomed large, objectives instituted were increasingly overtly democratic in nature. In Area III: regional community, the Guidelines spelled out instruction on representative government and elections, checks and balances, separation of powers, and participation in the political system, all values inherent in liberal democracies.

Post-1997, this stress on democratic values and political concepts seems to have been minimised. Further, the international perspective on politics and government has been virtually erased. An examination of the current Secondary 4-5 G.P.A as illustrated in Table 6-3 suggests this. There is very little discussion of major political science concepts and the only international focus, beyond the PRC, is on Britain's role in the handover negotiations. The majority of the syllabus is centred on the structure of Hong Kong and its institutions and policies, with the PRC playing a conspicuous role. There is some mention of elections and representative government, but as Figure 6-1 demonstrates; only ten percent of class time is allocated to this. Democracy, while not ignored, is overshadowed by discussions of government and social institutions, administrative and legal structures, the nature of the economy, and Hong Kong's relations with the PRC. Perhaps this is a pragmatic appreciation of current realities, but the insularity is marked when compared to the 1985 G.P.A. syllabi and their focus on political science concepts, values, and international outlook.

With the planned handover of Sovereignty to China, the Hong Kong curriculum was reformed to allow a greater degree of discussion on previously taboo sensitive issues such as politics as well as a focus on China's history, politics, and society (Morris & Morris, 2001). A greater impetus was also given to civic education with the Government and Public Affairs curriculum and Liberal Studies and reform of existing subjects. However, these reforms, in practice, appeared to be more symbolic than real. Minimal efforts were made toward implementation and the larger effort appeared to be directed toward appearing as if the government was addressing critiques of its educational policies while it avoided controversy, tension, and conflict by limiting itself mainly to extortions and broad generalities (Morris & Morris, 2001; Morris & Scott, 2003).

Implementation of Moral and Civic Education

The change of sovereignty in 1997 saw the reintroduction of civics as a subject in 1998 for junior secondary. The major goals, according to Morris and Morris (2001), were to develop students' critical thinking, to promote civic participation, and to ensure understanding of civic rights and duties. Most schools in Hong Kong rely on a "permeated approach," whereby civics education is delivered mainly through less-formal approaches such as assemblies, discipline campaigns, displays, and guidance activity periods as well as being integrated into subjects such as history and E.P.A. (Morris & Morris, 2001). Implementation, as with many school reforms in post-handover Hong

Kong, has been difficult. In keeping with the past, there are continued conflicts between stakeholders, policy makers, and divergent public opinions that reflect both the disharmony in the political culture and the questioning of the administration's legitimacy (Morris & Scott, 2003).

Studies demonstrated that many teachers saw civics mainly in light of promoting order and discipline (Morris & Morris, 2001). Following this idea, the observance of strict rules is encouraged in schools, as is the promotion of qualities such as politeness, personal discipline, patience, and obedience. Many students reported that the main values taught were good behaviour and politeness. This has led, according to interviews conducted by Morris and Morris of some foreign teachers teaching in Hong Kong, to a lack of proactive student initiative. Rather, teachers devise the activities and students are requested to go along with them. In general, much of civics education was left in the hands of school discipline committees, and teachers saw little need to actively implement civics themselves. Thus, civics education became tied, de facto, to a stress on discipline and strict observance of rules and regulations. This type of focus on discipline does not promote individual development for responsibility or promotion of accountability for a democratic system, but rather for an authoritarian, traditional system where the school becomes an agent of domination and the status quo.

Students also viewed civics education in this light, seeing little evidence of civics education implementation. In fact, according to Morris and Morris (2001), many of the students they interviewed were not even aware of the concept of civics education. Attendant upon this was a lack of student interest in the activities and displays promoted by the schools. Essentially, many students have become alienated and disinterested towards much of what passes as civics education in schools, feeling a sense of forced conformity and military-style schooling.

However, in some schools, there were moves towards implementing civics education at the operational level, with the teaching of learning independence and personal responsibility. Interestingly, the school that reflected this in Morris and Morris's 2001 study was an Anglican school with an intake of students assessed as academically weak and a strong emphasis on moral responsibility. Given its more direct and classroom oriented implementation, it is perhaps not surprising that such civics education was more widely appreciated and understood by teachers, students, and administration, although stress was on learning the rules of society and becoming disciplined through learning activities such as singing contests (Morris & Morris).

Critique

The current Government and Public Affairs Syllabus (G.P.A.) does not provide opportunities for a holistic political education. As Figure 6-1 in the last chapter revealed, the majority of class time prescribed for G.P.A. had to do with structure of the HKSAR and PRC governments, and relationships between them. These topics were dealt with in a very descriptive, procedural and bureaucratic manner, focusing on the function of a government with very little room to manoeuvre towards the consideration of alternative political systems. Electoral methods were discussed, including direct and indirect elections, maintaining free elections, and their importance to government accountability. The evolution of representative government in Hong Kong from the 1980s was one element within the topic, as was the development of political parties and methods by which fact and opinion could be differentiated in political discourse (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b, p. 17).

The Alberta Social Studies 30 Syllabus

As a comparison to the syllabi of social education in Hong Kong, the Alberta Learning Social Studies 30 program of studies will be described to highlight the differences contrasts posed by a more holistic curriculum for political education. This Social Studies 30 syllabus is currently undergoing draft revision. Nevertheless, it serves as an example of a program that has a holistic view of social studies education, and specifically of political education. Its content includes major underlying political and economic theories, ideologies and principles within a historical context. It also utilizes, as well as its lower-stream counterpart Social Studies 33, a government exam, which totals 50% of a student's mark. In addition, Social Studies 30 can be used as a subject for university entrance. This contrasts with Civics in Hong Kong, for example, which is not a pre-university level course.

The critique of this syllabus would mainly revolve around a focus on content over process, because the exams apply factual knowledge, logical reasoning, and writing an essay. However, teachers are encouraged to incorporate inquiry skills, debates and a variety of methodologies. Postcolonial critique would suggest that this view is Western, Eurocentric and biased towards democracy. A pungent difference to this syllabus and Hong Kong Civic Guidelines, for example, is that nowhere does the Alberta syllabus stress "How should I promote my sense of pride in being Canadian in Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE)?" as in the 1998 "What will I do to promote my sense of pride in being a Chinese?" (1998, CDC, p. 51, as cited in Vickers, 2003, p. 51) or the guidelines that "salutes to the flag should take place" or that "as a member of the country, we should attend the flag-raising ceremony" found on the Moral and Civic Education resource net (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.).

This type of Canadian curricula, of course, stems back to several differences in historical circumstances and political development, apart from diverse political philosophies. Canada gained internal, but not legal, sovereignty in 1867 from Britain, soon after Hong Kong was acquired, and international separation from the British Empire in 1918, as any social studies 10 or 13 student in Alberta would learn. Meanwhile, liberalism in the philosophical sense took hold as a result of separation of church and state, as well as the focus on individual rights through the conduit of the repatriation of the constitution in 1982 and the establishment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The opposite is true in Hong Kong, for Confucian heritage and the rights of the collective approach.

The Alberta curriculum was divided into two topics. Topic A covered economic and political systems while Topic B concentrated on global relationships. As was made clear in the introduction to Topic A of the syllabus, students were expected to learn the underlying principles and offer critical analysis of the various political and economic systems that are found in the current world order (Alberta Learning, 2000). Inquiry was designed to facilitate comprehension as to the part played by individuals and the collective in the workings of political and economic systems. Differences in systems were highlighted and examined as well as the nature of systems change. Amongst the goals listed for inquiry were questions of the extent to which decision-making in political systems should be limited to certain privileged groups, the nature of minority rights, and the limitations on majority rights. The expectation was that students were asked to develop “inquiry strategies” that provided for creative and deductive thinking and problem solving,

Theme I of Topic A concentrated on the theoretical underpinnings of politico-economic systems. The major ideologies of the past century were to be examined. These ideologies covered liberalism, conservatism, socialism, capitalism, communism, fascism and anarchism. The nature of political decision-making within these frameworks was enunciated, and the roles of the various structures of government were discussed. Democratic systems including direct representative, parliamentary, and presidential systems and their chief qualities were addressed, as were systems defined as dictatorial, including autocracies, oligarchies, tyrannies, absolute monarchies, and dictatorships. In terms of economics, three topics covered the fundamentals of production and distribution, private enterprise, and public enterprise.

Theme II of Topic A addressed the operation of political and economic systems in the real world. The first topic demonstrated the nature of ideologies in practice by examining several contemporary and historical states including Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Sweden as paradigms for the adaptation of theoretical models into practical systems of governance. The second topic sought comprehension as to the nature of change and adaptation to new conditions in politico-economic systems. Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Sweden could all be examined to highlight, within an historical context, the character of political and economic change at the state level. The third topic analysed the methods by which political leadership is achieved and maintained in different democratic and dictatorial systems with Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Nazi Germany as paradigmatic models. The fourth topic addressed the role of the individual in different systems with the concepts of the extent of individual and group participation and duties, political and economic rights, minority rights, democratic socialism, and neo-conservatism. The rule of law and individual rights and responsibilities of various states including Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Sweden, were to be used as models. The final topic within the theme sought understanding of the ways by which issues and ideas such as human rights, justice, globalization, and human survival have challenged and influenced existing politico-economic systems and ideologies.

Topic B of the Alberta Social Studies syllabus was equally broad in breadth and scope. Four themes addressed global relationships within theoretical and historical contexts. The first theme and its topics covered the theoretical underpinnings of international conflict and cooperation and their underlying causes. In terms of conflict, nationalism, expansionism, national self-determination, and rival ideologies were all set as examples for study, as well as the various categories of international confrontation and war. Equally, the *rationale* for cooperation and the forms such international cooperation takes were models for study.

The next two themes of Topic B examined the historical nature of international interconnections. Theme II looked at the interwar period and World War II with an examination of the rise of nationalism, national self-determination, and quests for national and economic security, motives for expansionism and belligerence amongst nations and ideologies, international cooperation, and the conceptions of total war, genocide, justice and human rights, and the balance of power. Theme III focussed on the period of the Cold War with topics addressed including balance of power issues, confrontation, and détente with the rise of rival alliances and superpowers, collective security with the creation of the United Nations and arms limitations, post-colonialism and the rise of new states, and the growth of the non-alignment movement, civil wars, and the rise of terrorism.

The final theme was devoted to the contemporary global situation. Amongst the concepts discussed was the movement towards economic interconnectivity with multinational corporations, globalization, the rise of new industrial regions such as in the Pacific, and the nature of international debt. Also examined were the creation of regional economic blocks, international justice and human rights, the growth of environmentalism, and the concepts of self-determination, sovereignty, and the rise of a new nationalism.

Discussion

According to Professor M.F. Pang of Hong Kong University, Social Studies as a subject has always lacked popularity, and currently the Integrated Humanities curriculum is preferred in most schools despite its preamble stating that the subject was created for science or vocational streams (personal communication, July 5, 2005). The document is inquiry- and question-based, ranging from levels of the individual to the globe. Although it can be construed as a reflective inquiry where students find answers, the knowledge content is not comprehensive. As a result, students at the end of the course may have an inquiring mind, but the leading questions do not pry in the direction of underlying political ideologies or philosophies or differing systems. Thus the student may come out of the course with general social issues knowledge, but not necessarily political understanding.

Implementation of civics and political education has been viewed as problematic. Professor M.F. Pang of Hong Kong University (personal communication, July 5, 2005) reported that civics could either be taught as a separate subject or integrated over the entire school curriculum as there are no specific regulations governing implementation. M.F. Pang also confirmed that no PHSE course is mandatory in HKSAR.

If one is to examine all of the Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE) in Hong Kong, broad political education is lacking. The problem starts with teacher education. For example, Wai (2003) observed endemic market driven-forces in Hong Kong SAR, so that at the university level, humanities are degraded and universities are regarded as, 'vocational' schools, the result being that educators are under-educated. In her case study school, the Citizenship Education subject teachers had inadequate education in that subject, usually amounting to a few hours of seminars at local higher education institutes or at the Education and Manpower Bureau. Chiang (2003) claimed that "Civic education in secondary schools is usually treated as a minor subject" for although it has had its own syllabus since 1998, it was just a modified version of the 1996 Guidelines (p. 7).

Conclusion

The handover of sovereignty to China in 1997 was a watershed event for Hong Kong. For education in the former colony, it meant a call for greater appreciation of China, as the new arbiter of Hong Kong's fate, but it also spurred demands for greater education in democratic traditions as a method to ensure Hong Kong SAR's identity within greater China. At the same time, however, Hong Kong's identity was placed at greater jeopardy by a curriculum that increasingly emphasised a national Chinese identity and moral values. Civic education became increasingly narrowly focused on the transmission model, focussing on China and Hong Kong SAR to the exclusion of an international outlook, and a lack of education for democratic values. Rather, the focus was on the political structures of Hong Kong and China, their relationships, and the maintenance of the market economy. The narrowing of focus has meant a loss of a holistic understanding of political science concepts and the danger of subsuming the local identity by an overarching Chinese state constructed national image to meet the needs of the state.

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Concluding Chapter 8

This thesis set out to explore the interconnections between political change and the civics guidelines in the curriculum in Hong Kong. The 1997 sovereignty factor had, as some observers noticed (Bray, 2000; Morris, 1990; 1991), affected the curriculum after the Sino-British Joint Declaration (1985). There were conflicting goals of democratization as initiated by the British authorities (Bray, 2000) and Sino-centrification of the curricula as studied by Morris (1990; 1991), and further advocated at the behest of the Beijing appointed shadow government, the Preliminary Working Committee (PWC) (Ng, Leung, & Chai, 2000). New civic education subjects were instigated and curricula changed from being officially apolitical to political during the decade from 1985 to 1997 (Morris, 1990; 1991; Ng, Leung, & Chai, 2000). A markedly increased Sino-centrification had taken place in Hong Kong since 1997. Morris (1990; 1991) had noticed this trend in the curricula between 1972 and 1989.

My work analyzed how these historical events and changes impacted school curricula – specifically social studies. Social studies inhabits a unique place in school curricula – it is traditionally (at least in the West) the space in which young citizens come to understand their society's history and their own opportunities to effect edifying societal changes. This is the practical ethic of citizenship.

The specific research questions I set out to investigate were: (1) From which traditions of social studies do curricula stem? (2) In light of the history of political changes of Hong Kong, what type of political system and education is encouraged, and to what extent? (3) Do the pre- and post- 1997 curricula in the social studies, broadly defined as Civics and Government and Public Affairs (G.P.A.), teach citizenship education for democracy or for inculcation? And: (4) How has the recommended curricula reflected the political changes that have affected Hong Kong before and after the sovereignty handover in 1997? The remainder of this chapter will attempt to synthesize my analysis to address these questions.

Question 1: From which Tradition of Social Studies Do the Guidelines and Curricula Stem?

Social Studies as Knowledge Transmission

There is much evidence that in all three Guidelines (Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1985; Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, 1996; Civic Education Syllabus 1998) the transmission tradition of education dominates. In fact, there is a sharp increase in the use of this tradition. Following Barr, Barth and Shermis' (1977) reasoning, for analytical purposes, instructional goals reveal definitions. When examined from the goal of citizenship transmission, which utilizes a variety of techniques, the purpose is that "a particular conception of citizenship shall be both learned and believed" (p. 59). In line with the transmission model is socialization into the prevailing system. The link between socialization and the transmission method is, as Barr et al. deduce, that the transmission method is used to present a set view of "society and citizenship" so that the "justification" for an ideal view is cultural survival (p. 60).

Both the 1985 and 1996 Guidelines focused on the social order and the impending sovereignty changeover to China. This meant that it was on the agenda for students to be socialized into greater Chinese culture and political awareness. In the 1985 "Guidelines" socialization was defined as:

> a process through which new or immature members of society are induced to accept and conform to traditionally established ways of life. To this end, civic education, with the promotion of social responsibility as its main aim, becomes a method of political socialization. (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 9)

Planning for socialization into society was an explicit and clear task for teachers, as outlined by the 1985 Guidelines. As well, the objectives in the 1996 Guidelines included socialization components such as "to promote an understanding of Hong Kong's way of life" and to "introduce students to the rational principles of fairness as well as the basic rules necessary for the continuance of social life" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p.7).

The 1985 and 1996 Guidelines transmitted information about Hong Kong, China, and the Chinese culture. Both contained units or areas about the Hong Kong regional community, and the Chinese national community (or society), for upper primary up to sixth form in the 1985 Guidelines, and for all levels in the 1996 Guidelines. However, in the later Guidelines, Chinese cultural content was more pronounced. The 1985 Guidelines did not mention China in the general aims. However, the 1996 Guidelines stated in the aim (2.2) section that the intentions of civic education for students included developing "in them positive attitudes and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China" (p. 5).

Both curriculum Guidelines mentioned China in their knowledge topic sections, but in 1995 China was considered more removed. For example, at the junior secondary level in 1985 in the China section was the attitude to have a "sense of national identity and belonging" (p. 30), whereas in 1986 the national community section clearly stated that "national spirit as nationalism and patriotism" were vital for "national identity and sense of belonging" for unity and "strength of one's own nation." In 1985, the stress was more on Chinese culture, as evidenced by the kindergarten section that through the study of the Chinese tradition and festivals "a sense of cultural heritage and cultural identity can be inculcated" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 22).

Compared to the 1985 Guidelines, the 1996 Guidelines were more focused on the Chinese state. For example, the 1996 Guidelines included an in-depth study of the Chinese political system. A cursory look at the 1998 Civic Education Syllabus also reveals topics of regional and national community, and topics about Chinese culture and values, and the Chinese government. As Vickers (2003) and Tse (2004) observed, nationalism and 'patriotic education' have increased since the sovereignty return to China. Moral and Civic Education materials posted on the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) web site support the trend of increasing nationalism of the PRC type such as the latest news on 'The National flag and HKSAR flag' (EMB, n.d.c). Knowledge items about China, as well as how students ought to feel (pride) about their national identity, were signs of the transmission tradition (Barr et al., 1977).

Apart from increased Chinese culture and politics, the moral dimension of the 1985 and the 1996 Guidelines was a major component of the curriculum. These moral topics fall under the category of transmission tradition because they are a de facto set of rules about how students ought to behave, or a set of behavioural guidelines (see Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1977) for the social good. What they are not is a set of negotiable values clarification possibilities, from which students may design their own values. They are also not moral reasoning development opportunities, wherein students are helped by the teacher to move up the abstract steps of moral thinking (van Manen & Parsons, 1983).

In these two sets of Guidelines, and it appears that in the 1998 Civic Education Syllabus as well, focus existed on conforming into the family, the community and the nation and appropriate behaviour. The 1985 Guidelines were inundated with 'oughts' or "lessons" about how to behave in society. These included such topics as 'love for the family' and community, respect for public property and facilities (this appeared on the EMB Moral and Civic Education web site as well). Similarly, the 1996 Guidelines include morals and have sections on values and attitudes. In the Hong Kong Civic Education Syllabi (Junior Secondary, 1998), assessment included not just on knowledge but also attitudes, values and competence and application of civic learning and their application (Tse, 2004).

Social Studies as Social Sciences Tradition

The second major social studies tradition – social studies as social sciences – was found in the 1985 and 1996 Guidelines. It was also found to be the major influence in the 1985 and current secondary Government and Public Affairs (G.P.A.) and Economic and Public Affairs (E.P.A) secondary syllabi. For upper primary level and up, the 1985 Guidelines included social science skills, such as gathering and interpreting data, in most of the topic sections. However, the 1996 Guidelines contained less evidence of the social science influence. The processes found in the social sciences were applied, especially in regard to introductory level political science in the middle form VI and F VI-VII G.P.A. Less well-rounded coverage of basic political science concepts, but more information about the PRC and HKSAR's relationship to the PRC, was found in the current G.P.A. for secondary 4-5. The earlier E.P.A (secondary) and the G.P.A. in use focused heavily on public affairs issues such as education and social welfare.

The Progressive Tradition

Other traditions such as the progressive tradition played a minor part of the 1985 and 1996 Guidelines, and the 1985 and current secondary Government and Public Affairs (G.P.A.) and 1985 Economic and Public Affairs (E.P.A) secondary syllabi. There was a purported attempt at progressive-type education. Specifically, the 1985 Guidelines mentioned enquiry several times and the 1996 Guidelines had reflection and critical thinking as a core knowledge competence area. However, it would seem difficult for true reflection and critical thinking to take place when the content is subscribed and the information presented in such a light so as to disallow reflection and focus upon accepting the presented norms and values. Unless the student is empowered to assume at least some ownership of his or her own thinking so that conclusions, based upon informed choice with active dialogue or problem-posing, are possible, it would seem that curriculum remains transmission-oriented in its very nature. In Hong Kong social studies guidelines, instead, the values and beliefs are presented and students are encouraged to accept the status quo without question.

Life Adjustment

Life adjustment was a major part of the 1985 and 1996 civic education Guidelines. Units existed on how to live in the family, the community and society. For example, the individual was a topic for senior secondary. Physical development, emotional characteristics of the adolescent, and awareness of these changes were knowledge and attitude items (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 31). The topic social behaviour included personal development, such as study skills and friendships. The developing of study and interest were also knowledge items. Under the individual and social group section, knowledge items such as finance, preparation for married life and after school (p. 33) were included. The 1996 Civic Education Guidelines contained fewer examples of the life adjustment tradition. However, one example found was to become an effective communicator. In general, life adjustment was not a focus of the G.P.A. syllabi.

Multiculturalism and Regional Traditions

Multiculturalism and regional traditions were negligible in the 1985 and 1996 Civic Education Guidelines; however, global education was evident with the main theme of the individual and the world (1985) and the international community area for the 1996 civic education Guidelines. Students were to be oriented to world organisations, world issues and problems in the 1985 Guidelines. In the 1996 Guidelines, they were introduced to concepts such as global citizenship, including the Global Village and human rights.

The 1985 G.P.A. (secondary) included political systems of other states as topics, but did not include topics about global issues per se. The 1985 E.P.A. form IV-V had Hong Kong and the outside world listed as a topic (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 98). Form IV E.P.A. became G.P.A., but the current G.P.A. did not include a similar topic.

Multiculturalism, in the form of appreciation and awareness of other cultures, was mentioned in both the 1985 and 1996 Civic Education Guidelines regional or understanding ties with neighbours was also mentioned. For example, skills (1985) included appreciating others cultures (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 37). The 1996 Guidelines included a knowledge topic about "a world of varieties, e.g. nations, ethnicities, religions, languages, cultures, etc" and students could reflect on promotion of "understanding, respect and appreciation of different cultures and customs" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 39). The G.P.A. and E.P.A. syllabi did not focus on multiculturalism.

Question Two: What type of Political System Is Encouraged, and to What Extent? How Has the Recommended Curricula Reflected Political Changes?

Hong Kong Special Administrative region has a "pseudo-democracy" (White, 2001). This "pseudo-democracy" is reflected in the social studies curricula such as the civics 1985, the civics 1996, the civics 1998 Guidelines, the current G.P.A. syllabus, and the Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE) guidelines. During the mid-1980s, when there were local government democratic reforms, the 1985 Guidelines mentioned the necessity for civic education. Although democracy remained a disputed concept, it was mentioned several times. Most notable was a skill for six-form, which was "to play one's part" in a representative democracy. The sixth and seventh form G.P.A. included separate units on 'a survey of basic terms' and separate units on the British Government and politics as that of the US and China. The only G.P.A. syllabus currently available for scrutiny is for secondary 4-5. Although democracy is covered in the form of representative governments, it is submerged into the topic of 'Government and the people' and only one to three class periods are suggested for its study.

Explicit, Implicit, and Null Curricula

When analysing curricula, it is important to look at the null curriculum (Eisner, 1985). Eisner (1985) envisaged three types of curricula: the explicit (government official and school curricula guidelines and syllabi); the implicit (organizational, pedagogical and other decisions that send out signals to students); and the null curriculum ("what schools do *not teach*," p. 97). Figure 6-1 demonstrates the lack of a holistic approach to the current G.P.A. syllabus.

In a rigorous study of Hong Kong's social studies curricula, an examination of the null curriculum is crucial. Specifically, the largest percentage of instructional time was devoted to examining the political structure of Hong Kong and China, with proportionally little time devoted to analysing democracy, democratic values, or underlying ideologies. Further, the content was Sino-centric with little attention being paid to the political systems and institutions of foreign states. As Table 6-3 demonstrates, the breakdown of topics concentrated on providing students with an understanding of the current political, economic, and social realities in Hong Kong and Hong Kong's relations to China without offering significant discussion of alternatives and divergent views. The E.P.A. and social studies syllabi also lack adequate grounding on comparative political systems. Hence, a broader G.P.A. curriculum is recommended with integration of historical local and world case studies (for students not taking history) for a more thorough grounding in political philosophies, economic systems and ideologies so that students have the tools with which to understand in depth and with which to make comparisons. For example, students should know about totalitarianism, authoritarianism, representative democracies, and about supranational type of governmental structures such as the European Union so that they can understand the wide array of governance. In this curriculum, these topics are ignored.

Teaching Methodologies

Balance in teaching in methodologies is needed if social studies is to become a rigorous, democratic practice. Without such balance, it would be easy to fall into the trap of what Friere has called the "banking" model. Such a model of transmission leaves students, as future citizens, deficient. Beyond basic factual information, if a social studies curriculum is to empower students, students should have ample choices for projects, which can be combined with constructivist methodologies so that students can build concepts, work on serious and open-ended inquiry into those areas, and to use co-operative learning to share their ideas with their peers or school. Curricula without these characteristics purport a narrow democratic citizenship, if they encourage democratic citizenship at all.

Democracy and the Curricula

The 1996 Guidelines, similar to the 1985 Guidelines just before the transition, mentioned democracy several times, as it mirrored democratisation during the early 1990s and addressed some of the desires of the pro-democracy advocates in society. One of the three aims of the Guidelines was: "To help students to understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 6). However, this aim was superseded by the first aim mentioned, which was for students to understand the social world around them and globally, as well as to build conducive attitudes towards Hong Kong and China. An objective for kindergarten to secondary level was to comprehend democracy and related concepts of liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to practice these concepts. Moreover, democracy, liberty, equality, and rule of law were pronounced as 'sustaining values' for reaching 'core values'. Hence, these values were considered important, for at this time, democratic reforms at the Legislative Council level had occurred (in 1991) under the leadership of Governor Chris Patten.

However, after the handover, sovereignty and the democratic force had lost steam. The Basic Law and the will of the PRC government had, as Tse (2004) explained, curbed "the pace and scope of democratisation" (p. 188). Both the mini-constitution and the Beijing Government had imposed a conservative straightjacket on future democratization. Tse also described that civil and social citizenship were at risk after the handover. This was revealed by the "re-amendment of the Public Ordinances in 1997 by the Provisional Legislative Council; the abolition of two municipal councils in 1999; and the drafting of Article 23 of the Basic Law on national security" in addition to the judicial ruling by Beijing case (p. 188).

A reverse relationship to the trend of learning about democracy existed in the trend to inculcate nationalism. The 1998 Guidelines, similar to the earlier version, focused on moral responsibilities with an aim of helping students understand "the special features of Chinese culture and the structure of the Chinese government" (CDC, 1998, as cited in Vickers, 2003, p. 51). The 2005 Moral and Civic Education supporting teacher materials on the Education and Manpower Bureau (E.M.B.) web site focused primarily on nationalism, the HKSAR system, the Basic Law, and the PRC. It was blatantly devoid of a broad spectrum of political topics needed for responsible citizenship. To sum up, the claim made by Fok (1997) that "Hong Kong schools have never been a force in democratisation" seems to be validated (para. 40) in my study.

Question Three: Do the Curricula Teach Citizenship Education For Democracy Or Inculcation?

As set out by the criteria of whether the 1985 and 1996 Guidelines and current secondary Government and Public Affairs (G.P.A) syllabi with consideration of recent political developments, it appears that the political system of Hong Kong and the educational system of Hong Kong are similar. Just like the political system, the education system is neither democratic nor authoritarian; instead, it is a mixture of the two. Signs of inculcation for authoritarianism appear both in the 1996 Guidelines and on the 2005 Moral and Civic Education supporting materials on the E.M.B. web site. For example, such signs of inculcation include the following:

- Important events that glorify the country
- Political history/ patriarchal history
- Leaders of nation presented as heroes (past and present)
- Stress certain traditions, values, beliefs or ideologies that are promoted
- National stories and symbols are taught, the group is stressed
- Stress certain traditions, values, beliefs or ideologies that are promoted
- National stories and symbols are taught, the group is stressed
- Consensus approach in society
- Glories of the past and present
- A selected body of knowledge is stressed
- For subject matter, one political doctrine is promoted, no "alternatives for fair comparisons"

(Curriculum Development Committee,
1985, p. 8) (This applies only to the supporting teacher materials)

- Appeal to the emotions through certain symbols, slogans and rituals such as flag glorification and anthem singing

The current G.P.A. includes the following signs of inculcation:
- Surface understanding of the structure and functions of government; mainly descriptive or procedural
- Unequal or biased treatment of different political systems (our system is best mentality); the political system is treated as well functioning with no deficiencies

Evidence, such as Morris (1990) suggests the following:
- Teachers and textbooks are seen as authorities, which in turn are prescribed and state controlled

However, citizenship education for democracy can also be seen in the 1985 and 1996 civics Guidelines. These signs include:

- Discussion, debates about pros and cons of different values
- Different interpretations and/or views of history are provided with multicultural and global forms of knowledge incorporated
- Critical thinking skills are considered important instructional goals based on societal problems and students' interests
- Students are encouraged to come to their own conclusions about the merits of government and creative thinking in creating new systems or problem-solving of deficiencies are encouraged
- Discussion or questioning promoted (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985)
- Teachers do not attempt to manipulate youth into certain political or personal beliefs
- Student-centred pedagogic methodologies are encouraged
- Appeal to reason and the intellect

These following elements exist in the 1985 G.P.A.
- Multiple ideologies are part of the syllabus
- Underlying political philosophies and history of government evolution provide depth in understanding of the structure and functions of government

The following topics were ignored in the 1985 and 1996 curriculum: controversial issues, such as racism or gay rights; political, social, women's and minority history; any presentation of controversial issues and historical injustices from the modern perspective; any cross representation of people that might studied based on students' interest; any notion of a conflict approach in society; any teachers' choice in topics based on their own or on their students' interests; or, finally, any textbook choices.

A Hybrid of Education for Inculcation and Education for Democracy Co-Exist

The 1985 guidelines on civic education.

The 1985 Guidelines on civic education presented a mix of education for inculcation and democracy. This was understandable, given the considerations of the change of sovereignty and attempts to ensure that the people of Hong Kong were ready for this event. As Morris, (1990; 1991) argued, the goal was to prepare students for their future roles as citizens of Hong Kong within China. Therefore, a large part of the curriculum was, perforce, dominated by considerations of fostering a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China and raising awareness of this heritage. At the kindergarten and primary level, for example, the objectives included enabling students to identify their responsibilities within society and appreciating Hong Kong's way of life, its people, its relations with its neighbours, and the nature of co-operation to ensure stability and prosperity (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985). At the secondary level, some of the objectives were clearly designed for inculcation. An example was an objective to increase admiration of Hong Kong's cultural heritage, and to further social awareness through promoting involvement in varieties of social activities.

Even when Hong Kong was a British colony, there were preparations to inculcate students towards Chinese nationalism. For upper primary the goal of civic education was given as understanding China and Hong Kong (Cheung & Leung, 1998). Clearly this represented an attempt to inculcate cultural and social values related to the two entities as knowledge concepts studied included understanding how China and Hong Kong were interrelated and mutually co-operative and attempted to foster feelings of pride in China's cultural heritage and pride in the nation. Thus, objectives were given as developing a "sense of national identity and belonging," pride in Hong Kong's and China's "people and their achievements," and "respect for Chinese culture and tradition" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 19). Skills included civic involvement, related especially to acting in a considerate.

The moral and values focus showed education for inculcation as they were specific, and not of the valuing process type as described by van Manen and Parsons (1983) where teachers facilitate with students to form their own value system such as through discussion or moral reasoning. Beside the social studies and the E.P. A. syllabi, teaching objectives in the 1985 Guidelines were outlined as including "moral, political and ethical aspects" were provided in courses in order to "to inculcate a sense of commitment to effective citizenship" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 11) while attitudes were intended to develop a sense of responsibility and contribution to society. Attitudes to be acquired at the primary level included identity, respect for family, tradition, and others, tolerance, a sense of responsibility, and "willingness to follow rules," "willingness to co-operate" with others for the "common good," and "personal contribution" (pp. 17-19).

On the other hand, the 1985 Guidelines also sought to promote education for democracy with general aims including upholding democratic principles, preparing students to become participatory citizens, developing rational decision making skills for socio-political issues, and through the suggested teaching methodologies of "discussion, debate and decision-making through participation in a variety of formal and informal situations and structures" (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 10). At the kindergarten and primary level objectives included to form "enquiry and social skills" that allowed students to arrive at logical conclusions based on well grounded research and to enable them to "communicate effectively" (p. 11). For Upper primary citizenship education discussion of Hong Kong's government and world affairs was intended to broaden knowledge and conceptual understanding via discussion of civic rights and responsibilities (Cheung & Leung, 1998). Skills to be practice included logical and rational thinking, gathering data, and interpreting information about the government. Further, an entire section in the Guidelines for upper primary outlined citizen- rights, freedoms and responsibilities with skills designed to express personal feelings and convictions regarding one's rights and critical thinking with consideration of consequences.

At the secondary level, the objectives included "to foster an appreciation of democratic values and principles which underpin our community and to assess alternative interpretations of these values and principles as practiced elsewhere," which promoted open and diverse thinking (Curriculum Development Committee, p. 12). In addition, objectives were to improve comprehension and analysis of international relations and conflict, to raise critical awareness by presenting students with the tools and skills needed to research and understand a wide range of social functions and features, to form skills in analysis and evaluation of social issues, and social and political skill formation to create responsible decision-makers. These objectives fostered critical thinking, student participation, and developed multiple pedagogical approaches.

The 1996 guidelines on civic education.

As with the 1985 Guidelines, the 1996 Guidelines also reflect an amalgam of education for inculcation and democracy. Amongst the aims was to "develop in them positive attitudes and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China so that they are ready to contribute to the betterment of the society, the state and the world" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 5). In terms of objectives related to inculcation for dual local and national identities, these for primary included, "to promote an understanding of Hong Kong's way of life," "to help students acquire a basic understanding of the Chinese nation and the Chinese culture," (pp. 6-7) while at the secondary level a further objective was to increase "esteem for it" (p. 9). Descriptive of inculcation was the concept of the school as civic learning agent "for formal and informal curriculum activities" (or the implicit curriculum). For example, at the kindergarten to junior primary level, the knowledge focus was on rules, such as rules for school and community life and students' right and responsibilities.

Another area where inculcation was evident was in the regional community topics, which ranged from "I am a member of the Hong Kong society" for kindergarten to HKSAR history, political system and justice for secondary with its selective knowledge (the null curriculum). The primary topics were cultural, with Children's Rights added, and "Hong Kong as a SAR of PRC, e.g. HKSAR flag, HKSAR emblem" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 35). The emphasis was on identification with Chinese culture and HKSAR as part of China.

Area IV in the 1996 Guidelines also provided examples of inculcation within the topics of the national or Chinese community. Kindergarten included the concepts: I am Chinese, festivities and ethnic groups in China. Junior Primary had the topics of Chinese nationhood (symbols of China, anthem, flag, and etcetera); Chinese cities and places; festivities and customs; children's life in China. Senior secondary topics were about

China's society and government. First was Chinese nationhood, and included a) recent historical events and the founding of the PRC and b) traditions (origins and development of the Chinese nation, ideas and religion, culture and are, achievements and inventions) (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 37).

At the same time, the aim was to assist students to "understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 6). A further aim was to foster critical thinking and problem-solving skills to enable social and political analysis based on objectivity and rationality. The suggested teaching methodology was student-centred with the teacher being the facilitator. Democratic related objectives included, for secondary, to facilitate "students to develop and understanding of and concern for the local social conditions, the rights and duties of citizens, the functioning of the government and the communication between the government and the people" (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 8). Another objective, at the secondary level, was to provide students with "social and political skills and understanding" and to prepare them for a decision making role (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 8). Other objectives in this democratic vein included, for both primary and secondary, the objectives of comprehending "democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law" and to practice them (p. 8). Further, for primary was the objective to "promote in students an understanding of the rights and duties of a citizen, and to foster a growing concern for community affairs so as to raise their sense of civic awareness" (p. 7). All these objectives demonstrated a concern with developing students who were socially aware, critically conscious, and to able to think reflectively and critically about the situation in Hong Kong and in a global environment. With the handover a year away, civic education was intended to create a student body that was able to think for itself and be socially aware.

The 1998 civic education guidelines.

The 1998 Guidelines appeared to be converging towards education for nationalism or patriotism, which is inculcation. Vickers (2003) observed a late 1990s policy that sought "an assertion of the role of education in nation-building and the inculcation of an uncritical, state-centred version of Chinese patriotism" (p. 49). Vickers quoted the Education Commission's 1999 Consultation Document as representative of the post 1997 stand on Hong Kong regarding its identity:

> Of social significance is the fact that reunification with the motherland confirms the Chinese national identity of the Hong Kong people. Under the principle of "One country, Two systems" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", our young people need to understand more about the culture, as well as the present and future developments of our motherland. They also need to appreciate the unique geographical and political characteristics of Hong Kong to the full, and to build on the best of East and West, so as to develop a society which is outward-looking, culturally confident, united, free and democratic. (as cited in Vickers, p. 49)

This is evidenced on the EMB web site where stress is placed on the cultural-national policy. The introduction of the Moral and Civic Education (M.C.E.) Resources web page lists, based on the "Basic Education Curriculum Guide: Building on Strengths" published by the Curriculum Development Council, stated that M.C.E. had key tasks, including: "To focus on the development of five priority values and attitudes: Perseverance, Respect for Others, Responsibility, National Identity and Commitment" (EMB, n.d.d, 2005). Under Moral and Civic Education, the EMB (n.d.c) web site (stating that "all the policies and documents made by the government") posted information on: The National flag and HKSAR flag; the Youth Summer Camping program; Education on May Fourth Movement; and an Audio-visual, poster and booklet competition on the Chinese policy of "sustainable Development." These are all attempts at inculcation.

The current G. P.A. and E.P.A. syllabi.

The current G.P.A. syllabus was essentially designed for inculcation as seen in the nature of the content. Although issues related to the nature of representative government and other liberal values were presented, the structure was fundamentally descriptive. Essentially, the content was for understanding the nature of Hong Kong's and China's policies, structures, and the major issues. As the introduction stated,

> The topics listed in this GPA syllabus call for a knowledge of the basic facts of the Government of the HKSAR and an understanding of the related concepts. It is expected that the relevant political terms and concepts will be taught in the context of solid government structures and processes and not as abstractions. (Education and Manpower Bureau, n.d.b., p. 6)

In line with this goal, government documents were included for study, such as the Basic Law, in order to understand the importance of these documents for Hong Kong but little attention was given to critical examination and critique. Further, there was little comparison across political systems and political science concepts were given short attention. Activities were principally designed along the lines of information collection and presentation, such as collecting newspaper clippings and reporting on meetings and activities of government bodies, which were not always democratic education activities. A prime example of this was the focus given in topic one of the concept of "One country, two systems" and its relation to the Basic Law. The activity designed to "Make suggestions to encourage people in the HKSAR to know more about the Basic Law" (Education and Manpower Bureau. (n.d.b., p. 11) was an extreme illustration of this inculcative method if education. Even more marked was the last topic, the central structures of the PRC and the Communist Party of China and the relationship with Hong Kong. The content was entirely descriptive, with activities limited to understanding the organization of the central bodies of the PRC and how they are connected with Hong Kong. G.P.A. had a lop-sided approach to focussing on the HKSAR and PRC Governments.

The current E.P.A. syllabus was, if anything, even more directed towards inculcative education principles. Here the content was for the most part descriptive of the economic policies of Hong Kong, the role of the consumer and producer, and market forces. Essentially, the content was directed at the maintenance of the economic status quo, i.e. the market economy and its importance to Hong Kong. There was no critical presentation of alternative economic systems. The need was for students to have, as a base for having the developmental skills for controversial issue decision-making, "sound knowledge of consumer education, elementary supply and demand analysis, rights and duties of citizens, basic facts of the Government of the HKSAR as well as a general understanding of the current local economic and political environment" (EMB, n.d.a, p. 6). The topics themselves were selected to maintain the status quo political and economic system, so student would be trained to be either junior economists or consumers, but not politically astute citizens.

The Integrated Humanities Curriculum and Assessment Guide (IH) (2003) included, as part of the learning objectives, critical-thinking and problem-solving skills. It also included enquiry questions that allowed students to explore answers. The IH curriculum was a step in the right direction toward progressive and democratic education, but the topics introducing students to the humanities (IH) were geared towards students who are not taking Personal, Social and Humanities Key Learning Areas (PSHE KLA), so that their exposure to the social sciences would have been limited, especially in political education.

Key Findings

The following key findings can be synthesized from my study of social and political education in Hong Kong and HKSAR since 1985 to 2005:

1. The transmission tradition dominated and dominates in Civics Guidelines (1985 and 1996) through knowledge and value content and inculcation;
2. The G.P.A. syllabi have a mixture of transmission and social science traditions;
3. When compared, the G.P.A and E.P.A. syllabi before and after the sovereignty handover saw a decrease in comparative political education;
4. Deficits exist in broad political education (broad political philosophy with diverse case studies);
5. The curriculum has seen a marked increase in Sino-centrification, patriotism, and nationalism since the 1980s;
6. Curricula developments in social studies and political education are inextricably linked to historical events and political developments;
7. Teacher-centred strategies co-exist with enquiry and problem-posing education across the different PSHE KLAs.
8. A hybrid of education for inculcation and education for democracy co-exist within the Civics Guidelines (1985 and 1996) and G.P.A and E.P.A. syllabi (1985 and current).

Recommendations for Further Study and Reform

Much has been written about civic education in Hong Kong; however, updates are always needed for unfolding developments. One area in need of continued study is the implementation of civics education and a study of how civics is taught and practised. Observations with questionnaires would provide more depth in this study. In addition, comparative studies are advantageous for viewing different angles of curriculum planning across diverse societies.

As a recommendation, concepts such as global citizenship and multiculturalism can be fostered as a way to build on the commonness of humanity so as to unite world communities. Therefore, such concepts could be further implemented within the curricula. Fok (1997) commented on the sense of political powerlessness of Hong Kong society and recommended that political involvement should be fostered in the HKSAR. Furthermore he recommended the need for raising political confidence through education consisting of different ideas, assumptions, while strengthening decision-making skills, 'national concern' and cultural heritage tempered with the values of 'pluralism and universalism.'

The Hong Kong population was not empowered under the British administration until the 1980s, and many Honk Kongers voted with their feet either to leave permanently or to secure foreign citizenship. Hong Kong SAR people must renew their confidence in their place of residence. Political education can play a role in building assurance and strength in the local community. Such education is needed to both maintain the capitalist economy and business confidence and to extend the stability of local society. Indeed, to be constructive citizens and to empower the next Hong Kong SAR generation with a high degree of autonomy within the "one country, two systems" framework, as set out by the Basic Law, a stronger, renewed political education program seems to be required. A renewed social studies or civics curricula, to strengthen the socio- political confidence in the future, would need the following dimensions: diverse political ideological and philosophical concepts; comparative political systems; world affairs; decision-making and inquiry-building skills; and problem-posing education.

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